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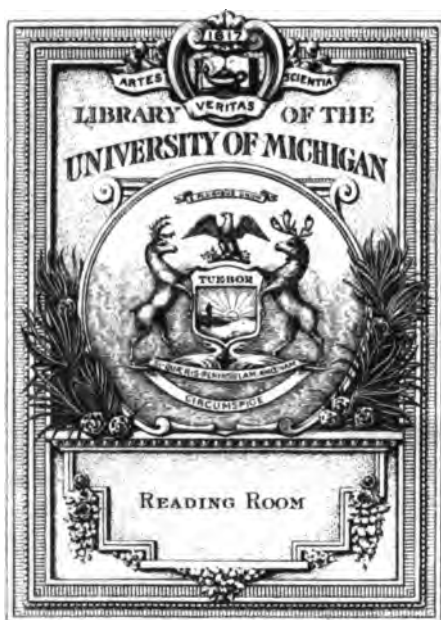
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A HISTORY
OF THE
HOLY EASTERN CHURCH.

Lately Published.

A HISTORY OF THE HOLY EASTERN CHURCH.

PART II. THE HISTORY OF THE PATRIARCHATE OF ALEXANDRIA. IN SIX BOOKS.

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A HISTORY OF THE HOLY EASTERN CHURCH.

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- 3

A HISTORY
OF THE
HOLY EASTERN CHURCH.

PART I.
General Introduction.

BY THE
REV. JOHN MASON NEALE, M.A.,
Chaplain of Exeter College, East Greenwich.

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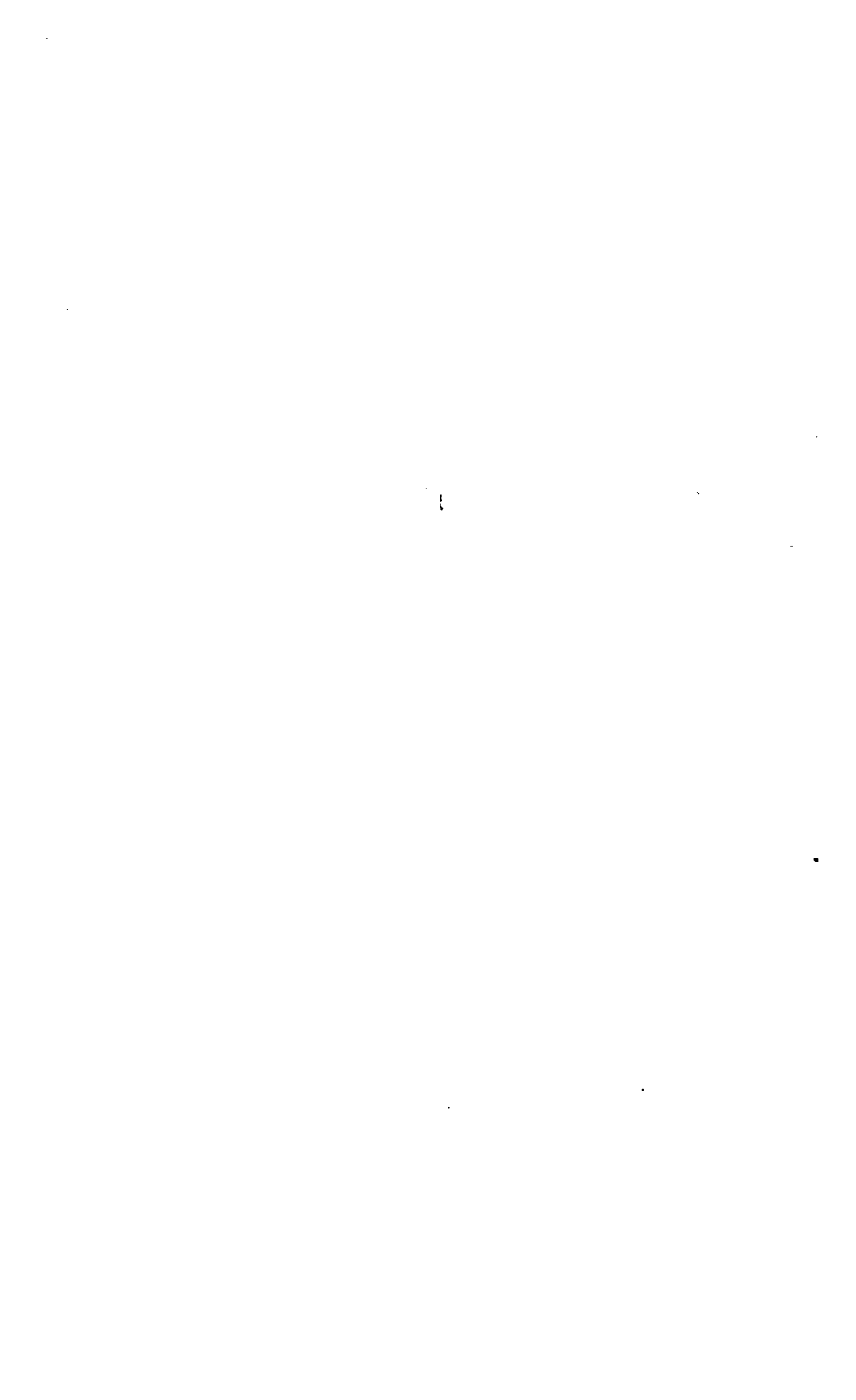
BY DIVINE PROVIDENCE

Emperor and Autocrat of all the Russias,

THIS WORK IS

MOST RESPECTFULLY DEDICATED.

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CONTENTS.

BOOK I.

THE GEOGRAPHY OF THE HOLY EASTERN CHURCH.

	Page
CHAPTER I. A general view of its Metropolitcal divisions . . .	21
II. Constantinople and its provinces . . .	26
III. The offshoots of Constantinople: Russia, Greece, Georgia, Armenia, Servia . . .	33
IV. Notice of the ancient and modern Sees of the Diocese of Constantinople, and its offshoots . . .	73
V. Patriarchate of Alexandria, and Metropole of Ethiopia : with notice of the ancient and modern Sees . . .	109
VI. Patriarchate of Antioch . . .	121
VII. Notice of the ancient and modern Sees of the Diocese of Antioch . . .	129
VIII. Dependencies or offshoots of Antioch : the Catholice of Chaldeæ; the Christians of S. Thomas; the Jacobite Patriarchate and Metropolitans; the Mono- nite Church . . .	139
IX. Patriarchate of Jerusalem, with notice of its ancient and modern Sees . . .	155

BOOK II.

THE ECCLESIOLOGY OF THE HOLY EASTERN CHURCH.

CHAPTER I. Definitions and explanations . . .	169
II. Arrangement and details of an Eastern Church . . .	175
III. First period of Byzantine Ecclesiology . . .	226
IV. The Patriarchal Church of the Eternal Wisdom at Constantinople . . .	234
V. Second period of Byzantine Ecclesiology . . .	250
VI. Third period of Byzantine Ecclesiology . . .	265
VII. Fourth period of Byzantine Ecclesiology . . .	280
VIII. Armenian Ecclesiology . . .	283
IX. Vestments employed by the Holy Eastern Church . . .	306

BOOK III.

THE LITURGIES OF THE HOLY EASTERN CHURCH.

	Page
CHAPTER I. General classification of Eastern Liturgies . . .	317
II. Office of the prothesis	337
III. Dissertation on the proanaphoral portion of Eastern Liturgies	350
IV. Translation and parallel arrangement of the proanaphoral portion of S. Chrysostom, Copto-Jacobite S. Basil, the Armeno-Gregorian rite, the Mozarabic rite	377
V. Dissertation on the anaphoræ of Eastern Liturgies . . .	461
VI. Translation and parallel arrangement of the anaphoræ of S. Chrysostom, S. Basil, S. James, S. Mark, Copto-Jacobite S. Basil, Lesser S. James, Theodore the Interpreter, the Armeno-Gregorian rite, the Mozarabic rite	525
VII. The Liturgy of the Presanctified	711

BOOK IV.

THE CALENDARS AND OFFICE-BOOKS OF THE HOLY EASTERN CHURCH.

CHAPTER I. Calendars of Sundays	729
II. Calendars of Saints	757
III. Office-Books of the Holy Eastern Church	817
IV. Canonical Hours	891
V. The Mystery of Baptism	943
VI. The Mystery of Holy Chrism	995
VII. The Mysteries of Penance, Matrimonial Coronation, and Prayer-Oil	1011
VIII. The Mystery of Ordination	1039
IX. Minor Offices	1041

BOOK V.

DISSERTATION I. On Asymes	1061
II. On the Creed of the Armenian Church	1077
III. On the Procession of the HOLY GHOST	1093
IV. On some points connected with the doctrine and discipline of the Holy Eastern Church: its position as regards Rome, and England: conclusion.	1169

PREFACE.

1. I CANNOT finally dismiss these volumes,—the more or less continuous labour of between six and seven years,—without experiencing two very different feelings at one and the same time. The first is thankfulness that I have been favoured with health and strength to complete them; the other is disappointment, that they have fallen so far short of my ideal in commencing them.

2. The publication of an Introduction to the History of the Holy Eastern Church, subsequently to that of a part of the History itself, certainly seems to require some explanation. When I first undertook to write the Annals of that Church, I intended to bring them out in three separate portions; embracing respectively, Alexandria, Antioch with Jerusalem, and Constantinople. While engaged on Alexandria, I found that it would be advisable, not to say necessary, to prefix a general Introduction regarding the rites, offices, faith, and customs of the Eastern Church. That Introduction it was designed to include in the first volume of the History of Alexandria; but, as I stated in the preface to that book, and as the present work proves, “it swelled to a size which precluded the possibility of such an arrangement.” The History of Alexandria was therefore published by itself, and first; though the present Introduction was frequently referred to in the notes.

3. This Introduction, then, in reality forms Part I. of my History of the Eastern Church; Alexandria, which was published in 1847, is Part II.; and if God spares me life and health, the history of Antioch and Jerusalem will be Part III.; while Constantinople will, by itself, form Part IV.

4. The first book of this Introduction contains the geography of the Eastern Church. Of works professedly treating on its ancient geography, such as those of Carolus a Sancto Paulo, and the notitiæ given by Leunclavius, Goar, and Bingham, it is incredible how incorrect is the best. I have, in the additions to the second volume, given the notitiæ of a province, selected at random, from Bingham; where, out of thirty names, fourteen are more or less wrong. The *Oriens Christianus* of Le Quien, though not intended as a system of geography, is the best foundation for that of the Christian East during primitive times: and the obligations under which almost every page of the first book lies to this author, are not easily to be expressed. Two or three lines to one whose great work has been to me like a friend and companion for nearly seven years, and of whom I would fain hope, that, where he now is, he has formed a juster idea of the Communion which he once attacked, may perhaps be forgiven.

5. *Michael Le Quien* was born at Boulogne, on the 8th of October, 1661. Having studied at Paris, he entered the order of S. Dominic in 1682. He first distinguished himself by his treatise *de Antiquitate Temporum*, written before he was thirty, and then by his edition of the works of S. John Damascene, and his Dissertations, seven in number, prefixed to them. The latter have been of great use to me, particularly in the fifth book of the Introduction. His two next publications were less happy. Under the name of Stephanus de Altimura he brought out his *Panoplia*, an attempted confutation of the "Greek Schism:" and in his own name he attacked Courayer on the validity of English orders, and by him, as every one knows, was triumphantly refuted. He then issued a prospectus of, and solicited help for, his *Oriens Christianus*, which he seems to have undertaken in 1718. Till the end of his life he laboured on this great work. The assistance of the learned was every where put in requisition for him: and his applications for information in the East seem to have been replied to with cordiality. He had been acquainted with Chrysanthus, Patriarch of Jerusalem, when he was a simple Priest on a visit to Paris, and contracted a warm friendship with him. On this work and on a very different

one, a History of his native place. Before he entered in the Dominican Convent of the Rue St. Eloi, enjoying the converse and esteem of the group of scholars who were the constellation of that age. He died, Malouin, Eguin, and the company of St. Maur. till he was called to his rest on the 11th of March, 1733.

6. The *Oriens Christianus* was thus left imperfect. It was too vast a labour for any one man to undertake, and it was begun by Le Quien too late in life. Hence it is very unequal. The Patriarchate of Jerusalem, and the Dioceses of Pontus and Asia, are best done; while the European provinces of Constantinople, Armenia, and the Nestorian Catholicate, are those on which least labour has been bestowed. After all, Le Quien alone would be, even for ancient geography, a most imperfect guide. His work was only intended to give a list of those places where the name of any one Prebate was known, and I have used my best diligence to compare and correct the other notitiae for the remainder of the Sees of the East. For the barbaric regions of Gotthia, and the Tauric Chersonnese, I have derived most valuable assistance from the "History of Christianity in Russia before S. Vladimir," of the Archimandrite Macarius. (S. Petersburg. 1846.

7. I was, however, still more anxious to procure a correct notitia of the modern Sees of the East. Probably none but those who have attempted it themselves can be aware of the confusion, perplexity, and at first, apparent hopelessness of the research. Geographical and critical works became useless; government reports and private information, reports not always (even in their own country) easily to be procured, and information not always readily bestowed, become the principal sources of reliance. Of the Patriarchates of Jerusalem, Antioch, Alexandria, and Russia, of Armenia, and the Catholicate of Chaldaea, my list is official and complete. Of the Patriarchate of Constantinople, it is not official, and therefore imperfect. Of the Jacobite Patriarchate of Antioch, and the Metranate of Ethiopia, I have been able to procure no accounts whatever.

8. I spared no pains in endeavouring to procure a correct modern notitia of Constantinople. His excellency, Sir

Stratford Canning, was so obliging as to forward to his Holiness Anthimus of Constantinople a paper of questions which I transmitted to him, with a request from himself that they might be attended to. But I have received no reply; doubtless one example among many of the jealousy excited against the English Church, by the miserable proceedings of her so called representative at Jerusalem. Failing this official communication, I have endeavoured, by application to all available sources of information, to make the modern notitia of Constantinople as little imperfect as the nature of the case would admit.

9. I was even still more unsuccessful in my application to the Jacobite Patriarch of Antioch, as I have reason to believe that it never reached his hands. Nor have I been able to procure any authentic notitia of the Ethiopic Church, though it has been promised me.

10. On the other hand, I procured, through the kindness of a Jacobite Priest, (as I have stated in the Preface to my History of Alexandria,) an official notitia of the Sees which belong to the Coptic Communion in Egypt. The modern notitia of Antioch was drawn up in 1844, by his Holiness Neophytus, Archbishop of Baalbeck and Mount Lebanon. That of Jerusalem by Anthemius, the Patriarch's secretary, for M. Mouravieff, in 1838. That of Russia is from the reports of the Holy Governing Synod, (except Georgia, which is given by M. Jossilian, the historian of the Georgian Church.) That of Armenia, which is the most minute of all, is from the official report of the Russian Minister of the Interior for 1843. That of Greece, from the official accounts of the Synod of Nauplia, (1833.) That of the Maronite Church, is only taken from the Acts of the Synod of Mount Lebanon, (1736.) If any later change has been made, I have not been able to learn it.

11. To each notitia, I have, in imitation of Le Quien, prefixed an historical sketch of the Diocese under consideration. For Constantinople and Antioch, I have principally been guided by Le Quien; the Catholicate of Chaldæa and the Maronite Church owe much to the Assemans, the former to the immense folio of Joseph Simon, *De Syris Nestorianis*;

the latter to the preface of JOSEPH LAYMONT in his *History of Maronite ordinations*. In SERIA, I principally follow RANKE and PATER: in GREECE, besides private information, I have chiefly consulted HERMANN JOSEPH SCHMIDT's *Erzählung der neu-protestantischen und der römischen Kirche*, which contains many original documents: and SPRING & GIERKE as a *Kingdom*. My account of GEORGIA is principally taken from M. PLATO JONKIAN's *History of the Georgian Church*, S. Petersburg, 1843, 2nd edn.:—the first edition, of a thousand copies, was sold in six weeks—and from the *Historical Description of Georgia*, by EUGENIUS METROPHANE of KIEFF, S. Petersburg, 1842. and from M. ERMANN's translation of the *Georgian Chronicle*. RUSSIA is derived partly from Mr. BLACKMORE's translation of M. MOURAVIEFF's *Essai*: partly from as an enemy ThIERER's *Neuesten Zustände der katholischen Kirche* *beider Teile i. d. Unit und Lat.* as *Polen und Russland*. Augsburg, 1843. to which may be added, the *Outlaw Code of Laws of the Spiritual Cammeries*, S. Petersburg, 1840. The sketch of ARMENIAN history is partly from the same source as the *notitia*, partly from private information. JERUSALEM is much indebted to Mr. WILLIAMS's classical book on the subject: and to M. MOURAVIEFF's *Travels*. ALEXANDRIA is chiefly from private information. I feel deeply the imperfect state in which I have been compelled to leave BOSNIA, ROMANIA, ALBANIA, &c.

But the reader may be assured that this is not from my having spared any efforts to procure an authentic report; I had reason to expect such information from the Metropolitan of BUKHOREST; but it seems either to have been prevented by, or to have been lost in, the late HUNGARIAN rebellion.

12. I now proceed to the second book. Of the difficulties attendant on its composition, and the principal sources whence it is derived, I have spoken at its beginning. Of the fifty woodcuts which it contains, twenty-two are from M. DUBOIS DE MONTPEREUX's *Voyage autour du Caucase*; eight from M. COUCHAUD's *Choix d'Eglises Byzantines en Grèce*; and twenty-two from other sources, several of them being original; among which the reader will not fail to notice Mr.

Curzon's very interesting ichnography of S. Catherine's on Mount Sinai, and that of S. Sophia at Novgorod.

13. In the third book, which treats on the Liturgies of the Eastern Church, it is proper to notice

a. My editions of the Liturgies themselves. *β.* The works which I have consulted on the subject.

14. *a.* The Liturgies themselves.—*The Alexandrian family.* The best text of S. Mark is that of Renaudot, Lit. Or. i. 120—155; this was reprinted by Asseman, Cod. Lit. vii. 1—44; and by myself in my *Tetralogia Liturgica*, (Leslie, 1848.) I have had no MS. helps, and have therefore contented myself with collating the earlier edition of Sirletti. Next we come to the Coptic Liturgies. Here I have used, Renaudot's Latin translation of the three Coptic Liturgies of S. Basil, S. Gregory, S. Cyril, (pp. 1—51 of his *Liturgiarum Orientalium Collectio*, Ed. Leslie, 1847;) and the Greek version of the greater part of S. Basil, and of S. Gregory, given by Renaudot from Cod. 3203 of the Royal library at Paris, at pp. 57—115 of the same edition, (these two last are reprinted in Asseman's *Codex Liturgicus*, tom. vii. pp. 45—134.) For S. Basil I have also used the edition in Coptic and Latin, in the same volume, part ii. pp. 1—90. But above all, I have employed a MS. of S. Basil's Liturgy, brought by Mr. Curzon from Cairo, and most kindly entrusted by him to me. Of this I have spoken in an appendix.

15. *The Ethiopic Liturgies.* Here, in the first place, I employ Renaudot's version of the Ethiopic Canon, (Lit. Or. i. 472—496;) which is to be compared, in any place where there seems a difficulty or obscurity, with the original Roman edition, edited by Tesfa Sion, 1548. The Liturgies of our LORD JESUS CHRIST, and of S. Mary, we have in the same edition. That of Dioscorus in Wansleb's edition, London, 1661. Those of S. Chrysostom, S. Epiphanius, James of Serug, S. Gregory, S. John Evangelist, and the Nicene Fathers, I have not been able to see. I imagine, however, that James of Serug is, to all intents and purposes, the same as that of the same name in the Syro-Jacobite family; and S. Gregory the same with the Coptic Liturgy so named.

16. *The Eastern family.* The three Liturgies of the Apo-

stles, Nestorius, and Theodore the Interpreter, are given by Renandot, (*Lit. Or.* ii. 578—632.) I have also consulted in the British Museum, the Rich. MS. 7283, which contains them.

17. *In the Greek branch of the Hierosolymitan family.* For S. James, I have been obliged to content myself with the edition of Asseman, *Cod. Lit.* v. 1—67, though he clearly followed a bad MS. Bishop Rattray's edition I have also consulted, as well as that recently published by Mr. Triloge. Sicilian S. James is from Asseman, v. 68—99, the only place where it has been published: S. Cyril is given both by Asseman and Renandot. S. Basil is from the Venice editions of 1839 and 1842, compared with the edition of it given by Gour, with his various readings. S. Chrysostom is from the same sources; and I have compared a MS., of no great age, procured by Mr. Curzon in Italy. In the Slavonic I have employed the S. Petersburg edition of 1785, comparing it with Dr. King's version. The Armenian Liturgy is, as I have elsewhere stated more fully, from Archbishop Argoutinsky Dolgorouky's Russ version of it; compared with Father Gabriel Avedechian's edition of the Uniat rite, (Venice, 1832.) The Georgian I have not seen.

18. *The Syriac branch of the Hierosolymitan family.* Syriac S. James is given by Asseman in Syriac and Latin, *Cod. Lit.* v. 131—179, and in Latin only by Renandot, *Lit. Or.* ii. 1—44.) The following are given by Renandot, and in Latin only; the Abbreviation of Syriac S. James, by the Catholicos Gregory, S. Xystus, S. Peter I., S. Peter II., S. John, the Apostles, S. Mark, this is also given by Asseman, tom. vii. par. 2. 91—108, in Syriac; S. Clement, S. Dionysius, S. Ignatius, S. Julius, S. Eustathius, S. John Chrysostom I., S. John Chrysostom II., S. Marutas, Dioscorus, Philoxenus of Mabug I., Philoxenus of Mabug II., Severus, Baradzeas, Matthew the Shepherd, James of Serug, James of Edessa, Thomas of Heraclea, Moses Bar-Cepha, Philoxenus of Bagdad, the Holy Doctors, John of Bassora, Michael of Antioch, Dionysius of Caramit, Gregory Abu'lfaraj, John the Scribe, Dioscorus of Cardou, John Bar-Maadn, Ignatius Bar-Wahib, S. Basil. Besides these, I have S. Celestine from the British

Museum ; it has never been published ; and there are those of John Maro, and Eleazar of Babylon, which I have never been able to see. The fourteen Liturgies printed, and most magnificently, in the Syriac Missal at Rome, I have seen ; but having been edited by Roman censors, they are, liturgically speaking, of little value.

19. The total number of Eastern Liturgies, therefore, which I treat of, will stand thus :

ALEXANDRIAN FAMILY.

Coptic Branch 3

Ethiopic Branch 10

CLEMENTINE 1

EASTERN FAMILY 3

HIJEROSOLYMITAN FAMILY.

Greek or Basilian Branch . . 8

Syriac Branch 40

Total 65

Of these, the reader will find no account of ten, which, as I have said, I never saw ; six Ethiopic ; Nestorian Narses the Leper ; Syro-Jacobite Eleazar of Babylon, and John Maro ; and the Georgian.

20. The observation is perhaps worth making, into how far deeper antiquity the liturgical scholar of the East is led than his brother student of the West. The age which invests the Sarum, York, or Hereford Missals with such reverence, is less than that of many Eastern Liturgies which are considered worthless from their comparative lateness.

21. *β*. To enumerate the various liturgical works which I have consulted in the composition of the two Dissertations, the one on the proanaphoral portion of the Liturgies, the other on the anaphoræ, would be a tedious and nearly useless task. It would answer no conceivable purpose to mention the names of the great liturgical scholars of other days ; of Grancolas, Mabillon, Le Brun, Thiers, Martene, Bona, Sala, Renaudot ; or, in our times, of Binterim ; but perhaps to mention the mediæval Greek writers, who are the most useful to the liturgical student, may not be without its use.

22. Among these, Symeon of Thessalonica holds the first place: his book on *de Templo et Missa*, and his treatise *On Ordinations*, are invaluable. Timothy the Presbyter, in his work *concerning them that come to the Holy Church*, edited at the end of Combefis's History of the Monothelites. The Homilies of Theophanes Cerameus, Archbishop of Tauromenium, which are curious as the production of a Sicilo-Greek Ecclesiastic of the twelfth century. They were edited by Scorsi, in 1644. George Codinus on the Offices of the Church of Constantinople. The Poems of John Mauropius, Archbishop of Euchaita, (London, 1610.) The Festival Sermons of Damascenus of the Studium, which are edited with another useful book, the Exposition of the Divine Offices by John Cartanus. Nilus Doxapatrius, on the Five Patriarchal Sees, (ed. 1685.) The works generally of Theodore Balsamon, but more particularly his replies to Mark of Alexandria. The Exposition of the Divine Offices at the end of Sirletti's edition of S. Mark's Liturgy: and of modern books, I am most indebted to the *Novia Skrejal*, put forth at S. Petersburg by the Holy Governing Synod, in 1838.

23. The sources whence I have derived the first and second chapters of the fourth book, which treat of the Dominical arrangements and Calendars of Saints, are fully explained in the proper place. The two next chapters, which are occupied with the office-books and canonical hours of the Church of Constantinople, were one of the most difficult parts of the work, the information therein contained being in great measure traditional, and the various offices, and their sequence, scarcely possible for a stranger to understand without oral instruction at the commencement. It may serve to shew how neglected had been these studies in England, that the Greek *Typicum*, (the book of rubrics,) had to be procured for me from Athens, it being found impossible to obtain one in London; nor is there any copy in the Public Library at Cambridge. The Russian *Oustaff* I was more fortunate in at once being able to procure.

24. Prefixed to the office-books are some observations on the Ecclesiastical languages employed through the Eastern

Church. I have chiefly followed, for Slavonic, Constantine the Œconomus, in his essay on the affinity between the Greek and Slavono-Russ languages, which was printed at the expense of the Imperial Academy, at S. Petersburg, in 1828; Karamzine and Schaffarick. But in my account of the Glagolita, I found myself compelled to adopt the opinions of Kopitar, as expressed in his *Codex Clozianus* and *Texte du Sacre*, in opposition to those advocated by Dobrowsky. In Georgian, my guides have been Eugenius of Kieff, and M. Brosset, in the works to which I have before alluded. In Ethiopic, besides Ludolph, the researches of recent travellers, as Sir Cornwallis Harris, and Dr. S. Gobat. In Armenian, the works of the celebrated linguist, Father Paschal Aucher. And in Syriac, Asseman and Schaaf.

25. The other Sacraments of the Eastern Church, though not treated so fully as the Liturgy, will yet, I hope, be found explained with tolerable minuteness. Here, for the Constantinopolitan rites, the Greek Euchology of 1842, and the Russian *Trebnik*, (my edition was that of 1785,) were my guides. Their most useful commentators I found to be, Allatius, in almost all his numerous works; Eustratius Zialovsky, *Brevis deliniatio Eccl. Gr.*, Nuremberg, 1681; Heladius, *Status præsens ecclesiæ Græcæ*, 1714; Goar's notes; the Catechesis of Nicholas Bulgari, of which I use the Venice edition of 1818; the Catechism of Plato of Moscow, edition of 1782, Leipsic; the *Novaia Skrejal*, S. Petersburg, 1838; the larger Catechism of the Russian Church, written by his Holiness Philaret, Metropolitan of Moscow, and Archimandrite of the Troitsko-Sergievskey Laura; the Duty of Parish Priests, which was the work of George Konissky, Bishop of Mogileff, and Parthenius Sopkofsky, Bishop of Smolensk: both these I quote, not from the original, but from Mr. Blackmore's translation, in the work called *The Doctrine of the Russian Church*; and the *Popechenie Pravoslavnoe Tserkve* of Gregory Debolsky, S. Petersburg, 1843. To these I add, the Orthodox Confession of Peter Mogila, (Moscow, 1839, tenth edition;) and, as connected with the Oriental view of Sacraments generally, the *Perpetuité de la Foi*, which, however, must always be received with great cau-

tion, and the celebrated letters of the Patriarch Jeremiah. These, read with a Lutheran comment by Martin Crusius, with a Calvinistic one by the thief John Aymon, with a Latin one by Stanislaus Sokoloffski, and an Oriental one in the Russian reprints, is as useful a praxis on the difference of the systems as can well be conceived.

26. For the other offices, not of the Constantinopolitan family, I am chiefly indebted to Asseman's *Codex Liturgicus*, which, imperfect as it is, is yet the most perfect work at present existing on the subject. But the Armenian office of Baptism is taken from the Russ version of Archbishop Argoutinsky Dolgorouky; and the Ethiopic office should be compared with the original version, as given in the *Bibliotheca Patrum*. It is to be observed, however, that the Nestorian, Syro-Jacobite, Coptic, Armenian, and Ethiopic rites of penance, marriage, and prayer-oil, and (in the three last instances) also of Ordination, are, in an unaltered state, nearly inaccessible to the liturgical scholar.

27. The last book contains four dissertations on some of the principal controversies connected with the Eastern Church. I have so fully dwelt, in each, on the authorities on which it depends, that I need here add nothing further on the point. I was desirous of adding two others: the one on the subject of purgatory, and of prayers for the dead; more especially as connected with the supplications offered by the Eastern Church for the greatest Saints, and even for S. Mary: the other on that of Transubstantiation. I was compelled by want of room to desist; and, as such essays could not be properly written without a reference to Armenian authorities, and I, at present, scarcely possess any acquaintance with that language, they were as well deferred.

28. It may not be amiss to say a few words on another subject. A friend, than whom there are few on whose judgment I would place more reliance, and who has done me the kindness to read all the following sheets, has charged me with a kind of affectation in dwelling, in some degree, on Slavonic terms and peculiarities, in the fourth book of this work; and, more particularly in employing Slavonic characters, unintelligible as they necessarily are to the great

majority of readers. What has so struck him, may so strike others; and I may as well anticipatively state my reasons for what I have done.

29. No one, I suppose, will deny that to write of the Eastern Church, and utterly to ignore the usages, terms, and Church language of five-sixths of the souls that compose it, would be nearly as monstrous as, while professing to treat of the Communions of Western Europe, to say nothing of the Latin Church. Now it is most important to bear in mind, that of the sixty-six millions embraced by the Eastern Church, about fifty-eight millions acknowledge the Slavonic as their Ecclesiastical language. It is so natural, from the common use of the term, *Greek Church*, to look on Greek as *the* language of that Church, that writers, who are acquainted with Byzantine, Greek, and Romaic, are apt to imagine themselves possessed of all the knowledge requisite for reading and criticising the works of Eastern Orthodoxy.

30. It is, then, very important to realize the fact, that the Church which possesses an overpowering preponderance, not only of numbers, but of piety, energy, and intellect, among her sister Communions of the East, employs a language, the very appearance of which is barbarous in the eyes of an English scholar. Yet it is the language that has been used by hundreds of saintly Bishops and ascetes, from the days of SS. Cyril and Methodius to those of S. Metrophanes of Voronej: the language which, by the confession of all, has the finest Ecclesiastical music on earth; a language which, if it falls short of the exactness and beauty of Greek, equals it in richness, and excels it in freedom; while in every point of view, it is far superior to Latin.

31. To write, then, of the Eastern Church, without having acquired some knowledge of Slavonic, would be something like writing of the Gallican Church, without reading French. Painful examples of the truth of this remark may be found in Papebroch's *Fasti Ecclesiæ Ruthenicæ*, and the elder Asseman's gigantic failure on the same subject. That the scholar who left that everlasting possession to the Church, the *Bibliotheca Orientalis Clementino-Vaticana*, a work which

I can never read nor consult without venerating its writer as something almost more than human, that he, in his old age, should have wasted his time in his explanation of the Russian Calendar, of which, from his want of acquaintance with Slavonic, he knew less than nothing, is a remarkable testimony to the truth of what I have been saying.

32. This may be true, it may be answered: but why inflict Slavonic on your readers? What they want is facts, and not words. I reply that words are often, especially in theology, the greatest of facts. Is not the Homousion one of the most important facts in the history of the early Church? So again, it is a most important fact, let it tell which way it will, that since the Council of Bethlehem, the Greek Church has allowed, to say the least, the employment of the word *μετουσίωσις* to signify the change wrought by consecration in the Eucharistic elements. Is it less important that the Slavonic Church perhaps recognises the term

Πρεσβυτερικλήνιε, as expressing the same thing?

Again, the same objection was made, even as late as the present century, against the employment of Greek type: and hence, even yet, we have not entirely got over the absurd practice of making quotations in Latin from the Greek Fathers. And our printers still retain a trace of the old custom, by an additional charge on every page that contains Greek characters.

33. I confess it seems to me strange that, while almost all European tongues are studied energetically by scholars in the pursuit of the different branches of literature, this, which has a most important bearing in Theology, should be so utterly neglected. It is rather disgraceful to English scholarship, that while one London printer alone possesses two or three Coptic, Ethiopic, and Armenian founts of type, the same person, in bringing out an edition of Bopp's great work, had to cut all the Slavonic letters that were needed in it. The only place in England, so far as I know, where such are to be procured, and there only in small quantity, is the Clarendon Press. On the whole, when languages, not very commonly studied, as Arabic and Syriac, are now usually quoted in the original, I may surely claim the same

privilege in behalf of a language far more important for Church uses than the former, and nearly as much so as the latter. No one, I imagine, would suggest the employment of English letters in such a case, or be otherwise than offended with such spelling as *metusiosis* in the one instance, or *presouchtchlestvénie* in the other.

34. In the early part of this work, Russian friends, who interested themselves in its progress, were continually saying that to employ none but Greek terms was to give the Church of Constantinople a prominence which was, in point of fact, absurd. To confine the language of the Eastern Church to Greek, was, they urged, to be guilty of great unreality. This is scarcely so true of the Liturgy, where the Slavonic is only one, and that a comparatively late one, out of more than sixty forms. But I felt that I should deserve the charge, if I gave the Slavonic Calendars and Office-Books no marked place among those of the Eastern Communions. I will end these remarks by saying that, to my mind, quotations from the language, while writing of the people, far from confusing, assist the reader. In my own case, it certainly was so. When, with a pretty tolerable acquaintance with the annals of the Georgian Church, but with no further knowledge of the language than its letters, I came to the study of M. Brosset's Georgian Calendars and Chronicles, it is surprising how much assistance I derived from having the original, as well as the translation, before me.

35. In orthography, I have adopted the same distinction of Diocese and Diocese which I have used in my History of Alexandria. I regret that some words are not very consistently given: thus, *the Catholicos* and *the Catholic* will be found; *heirmos* and *hirnos*, *stichoi* and *stichi*, &c.

36. I have now to express my thanks for the assistance I have received in the composition of this work. They are due, in the first place, to the Rev. R. W. Blackmore, M.A., formerly Chaplain to the Russian Company at Cronstadt, and now Rector of Donhead S. Mary. The liberality with which he placed at my disposal the entire store of his MS. translations from the Russ and Slavonic, has often made me feel uneasy at appropriating to myself the credit of a good deal of valuable information, for which I am directly or indirectly

indebted to him. And besides those parts of the following pages of which he supplied me with materials, I am indebted to him for the careful perusal of all in proof, and for many valuable suggestions.

37. To the Rev. Eugene Popoff, Chaplain to the Russian Embassy, also, I am most exceedingly indebted. Without his assistance I could never have written the fourth book of this work. And the kindness with which he exerted himself to reply to any questions, however numerous or however intricate, may be best judged of by the fact, that during the progress of my Introduction I received not fewer than fifty letters from him, some containing four or five sheets, full of information connected with the subject in hand. Nor must I forget his readiness to supply me with the Slavonic Office-Books for study. And to Admiral E. Pontiatine my warm thanks are due for his having procured me the ground-plan, never hitherto published, of S. Sophia at Novgorod.

38. Next, I have to acknowledge the kindness of the Hon. Robert Curzon, Jun., in allowing me to consult his unrivalled collection of Greek, Slavonic, Arabic, Syriac, Ethiopic, Coptic, and Armenian, MSS.; and the very great liberality with which he lent me those that I wished more particularly to study. I am also obliged to him for reading over, and giving me the advantage of his remarks on, that part of the following work which treats of Eastern Ecclesiology.

39. I have also to express my obligations to the Rev. Dr. Mill, who, though his increased occupations have not permitted him to read,—as was the case in my History of Alexandria,—every sheet, has yet never been wanting in giving advice or help when any particular difficulty has rendered his assistance more especially needful. To the Rev. B. Webb, M.A., I have again to express my thanks, not only for his kindness in reading over the proofs of the following work, but for his advice and assistance throughout; and more particularly,—where from no one could it have been more valuable—in the book on Ecclesiology. And to the Rev. W. Palmer, M.A., of Magdalene College, I am indebted for several important helps, and more especially for the loan of Zoernikav's work on the Procession, of which there is scarcely,

I believe, another copy in England, and very few in the west of Europe. My thanks are also due to Mr. J. W. Etheridge, for a good deal of kind assistance given me with respect to the Syriac Liturgies.

40. I must further thank the Rev. W. U. Richards, M.A., for the assistance he has afforded me in my researches in the British Museum; the Rev. W. Cureton, M.A., for his kind replies to several questions connected with Syriac MSS.; and the Rev. G. Williams, M.A., for assistance given to me on several occasions. Nor must I forget to acknowledge the obliging manner in which Mr. Petheram forwarded to me a copy of that rare book, Kopitar's *Texte du Sacre*.

41. Lastly, I am bound to acknowledge the inestimable advantages which I have derived from Mr. Darling's library. To the theological student it presents a facility of access to books which, but for it, would be beyond the reach of most; and I have often had occasion to notice the difficulty of enquiring in vain at it for any really valuable theological work. The *catalogue raisonnée*, which its proprietor proposes to publish, if he meets with sufficient encouragement, will be of no common utility to students in theology.

42. In conclusion, I cannot but express my gratification that I have been permitted to dedicate a work which is, at all events, the first *attempt* to present a systematized view of the Eastern Church to the English reader, to the Monarch who is the chief earthly support of that Church. That there are not some, it may be even many, mistakes in it, I am not vain enough to hope; but, I earnestly trust, none for which the arduous nature of the task will not, in some measure, account. And I am sure that they who are best qualified to criticise the work will also be most alive to, and most ready to take into consideration, its difficulties as well as its imperfections. To me, its composition, and the researches connected with it, have been the source of days, and indeed years, of pleasure, to which I look back with a deep feeling of thankfulness.

SACKVILLE COLLEGE,
Candlemas Day, 1850.

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS.

G. P. means ground-plan ; the others are views.

PLACE.	COUNTRY.	PAGE
G. P. S. Theodore, Athens . .	Greece . . .	171
S. Theodore, Athens . .	Greece <i>opposite</i>	ib.
G. P. Church as given by Goar . .	. . .	ib.
G. P. S. Hripaine . . .	Armenia . . .	173
S. Hripsime . . .	Armenia . . .	ib.
Church on the Zanger . .	Armenia . . .	174
G. P. Monastery-church of Daphni . .	Greece . . .	183
G. P. Chapel at Androussa . .	Greece . . .	184
G. P. Chapel at Sakharbet . .	Mingrelia . . .	189
Iconostasis at Tepekerman . .	Crimea . . .	193
G. P. Samari . . .	Greece . . .	200
Circassian cross . . .	. . .	220
Wallachian cross . . .	. . .	221
Russian Gable Cross . . .	. . .	ib.
Semantron, Hagiosideron, and Colymbion . . .	. . .	225
G. P. Tepekerman . . .	Crimea . . .	229
G. P. Inkerman . . .	Crimea <i>opposite</i>	ib.
G. P. Dighour . . .	Armenia <i>opposite</i>	ib.
G. P. Midiah . . .	Roumelia <i>opposite</i>	230
G. P. S. Clement, Ancyra . .	Galatia <i>opposite</i>	ib.
G. P. Tlos . . .	Lycia . . .	ib.
G. P. Gebel-el-Terr . . .	Egypt . . .	231
G. P. Xanthus . . .	Lycia . . .	233
G. P. The Eternal Wisdom at Con- stantinople . . .	. . . <i>opposite</i>	234
G. P. Pitsounda . . .	Abkhasia . . .	252
G. P. Tcheesemay . . .	Lycia . . .	254
G. P. Nakolakevi . . .	Georgia . . .	255
G. P. Gunnawat . . .	Syria . . .	256
G. P. S. Catherine on Mount Sinai . .	Arabia <i>opposite</i>	258
G. P. Gagra . . .	Abkhasia . . .	259
Metropolitan Church at Athens . .	Greece <i>opposite</i>	260
Proaulion of Samari . . .	Greece <i>opposite</i>	ib.
G. P. (and view.) Tchamkmodi . .	Georgia . . .	263
G. P. Chona-Kouban . . .	Armenia . . .	264
G. P. Cutais . . .	Georgia . . .	268
G. P. (and view.) S. Theodore Athens . .	Greece . . .	271
G. P. S. Nicodemus, Athens . .	Greece . . .	273

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS.

PLACE.	COUNTRY.	PAGE
G. P. S. Michael, Athens . . .	Greece . . .	274
G. P. S. John, Athens . . .	Greece . . .	275
G. P. Arta	Greece . . .	276
G. P. S. Mark, Alexandria . . .	Egypt . . .	278
G. P. Patriarchal Church at Constantinople . . . . .	. . . . .	282
Pokrovsky Cathedral (S. Basil, in the Kremlin) . . .	Russia . . .	283
G. P. Greek Chapel in London . . .	. . . <i>opposite</i>	287
G. P. Etchmiadzine	Armenia . . .	289
View of Etchmiadzine	Armenia . . .	290
Church of S. Hripsime near Etchmiadzine . . . . .	. . . . .	294
Elevation of Church of Sion at Karthli	Georgia . . .	297
G. P. Sion at Karthli	Georgia <i>opposite</i>	ib.
G. P. Martvili	Georgia <i>opposite</i>	ib.
G. P. Mtskétha	Georgia . . .	299
G. P. Ani	Armenia . . .	301
Annanour	Armenia . . .	ib.
G. P. Nikortsminda	Georgia . . .	302
G. P. Catzkhi	Mingrelia . . .	303
G. P. Sepulchral Chapel at Ani . . .	Armenia . . .	304
G. P. (and view.) Chak-boulak . . .	Armenia . . .	ib.
Fac-simile of a passage from the Coptic Liturgy of S. Basil		1207

INTRODUCTION.

I HAVE taken in hand, with God's assistance, to write the History of the Holy Eastern Church. The interest of the work can only be equalled by its difficulty; its importance by its peril. Incalculable benefit might arise from an impartial enquiry into the glories of its flourishing, and the misfortunes of its declining condition. Theories of the Church, now principally drawn from the Annals of the Western Branch, might be corrected or confirmed by an enquiry into the wonders which the Eastern has been privileged to work, and the trials which she has been strengthened to endure. Details, which in the history of the Latin Communion seem isolated or anomalous, will fall into an intelligible system when confronted with the fortunes of the East. Roman developements will be tested by the unbroken traditions of sister communions; Roman arguments strengthened or disproved by a reference to Oriental facts. Uninterrupted successions of Metropolitans and Bishops stretch themselves to Apostolic times; venerable Liturgies exhibit doctrine unchanged, and discipline uncorrupted; the same Sacrifice is offered, the same hymns are chanted, by the Eastern Christians of to-day, as those which resounded in the churches of S. Basil or S. Firmilian. I shall write of Prelates not less faithful, of Martyrs not less constant, of Confessors not less generous, than those of Europe; shall shew every article of the Creed guarded with as much scrupulous jealousy; shall adduce a fresh crowd of witnesses to the Faith once for all delivered to the Saints. In the glow and splendour of Byzantine glory, in the tempests of the Oriental middle ages, in the desolation and tyranny of the Turkish Empire, the testimony of the same immutable Church remains unchanged. Extending herself from the sea of Okhotsk to

the palaces of Venice, from the ice-fields that grind against the Solevetsky monastery to the burning jungles of Malabar, embracing a thousand languages, and nations, and tongues, but binding them together in the golden link of the same Faith, offering the Tremendous Sacrifice in a hundred Liturgies, but offering it to the same God, and with the same rites, fixing her Patriarchal Thrones in the same cities as when the Disciples were called Christians first at Antioch, and James, the brother of the Lord, finished his course at Jerusalem, oppressed by the devotees of the False Prophet, as once by the worshippers of false gods,—she is now, as she was from the beginning, multiplex in her arrangements, simple in her faith, difficult of comprehension to strangers, easily intelligible to her sons, widely scattered in her branches, hardly beset by her enemies, yet still and evermore, what she delights to call herself, One, Only, Holy, Catholic and Apostolic.

Such she is: and yet being so, she has not escaped, any more than her Great Head escaped, the tongue of calumny. Protestant controversialists attack her, because she holds uncorrupted the Faith of S. Athanasius and S. Chrysostom; Roman theologians condemn her as a withered and sapless branch, cut off from the communion of the first See, and now ready for the fire; infidel travellers contrast the 'noble simplicity' of the Impostor of Mecca with the 'complicated superstitions' of the Christian East. Everywhere is the cry against her, that her Priests are sunk in ignorance, her people enslaved to bigotry; that she exists only because she has so long existed, and acts with the mechanism of an automaton; that her want of missionary zeal proves her deficiency in vital energy, and that the hour of peril will crush her, like a hollow image, to dust.

For eighteen hundred years, it might be answered, this venerable Communion has fought the good fight, and borne about in her body the marks of the Lord Jesus. Since she armed Athanasius against Arius, and sent forth Cyril against Nestorius, unnumbered heresies have assailed her; foes in every shape have surrounded her; without have been fightings, within fears; her existence itself has oftentimes been a

very agony; yet the gates of hell have never prevailed against her. Idolatry and Apostasy have attempted her subjugation, and confessed her invincible; Kings and Caliphs, Emperors and Sultans, have stood up against her, but the King of kings and Lord of lords has been on her side. Sapor and the Fire-worshippers were vanquished by the victories of the innumerable Martyrs of Persia; Tiridates and the idolaters of Armenia were overthrown by the miracles of S. Gregory the Illuminator; Abreha and Atzbeha, with their Ethiopic subjects, repented at the preaching of S. Frumentius. And if heresy unhappily too often sowed its tares along with the good seed, still eastward, and southward, and northward did the Oriental Church extend her missionary labours.

Eastward, from the great (though unsound and finally heretical) school of Edessa, the envoys of Christianity went forth. They pitched their tents in the camps of the wandering Tartar; the Lama of Thibet trembled at their words; they stood in the rice-fields of the Penjab, and taught the fishermen by the sea of Aral; they struggled through the vast deserts of Mongolia; the memorable inscription of Sigangfu attests their victories in China; in India the Zamorin himself respected their spiritual, and courted their temporal, authority. From the Black Sea to the Caspian the Monks of Etchmiadzine girded themselves for this holy warfare; they braved alike the Pagan and the Fire-worshipper, the burning suns of Tiflis and the feverish swamps of Imeretia; they subjugated the border lands of Europe and Asia, and planted a colony halfway up the Great Ararat.

Southward, Alexandria sent forth another army of missionaries. Steering through the trackless deserts by sun and stars, they preached the Gospel as far as the fountains of the Nile, and planted flourishing Churches in Nubia and Abyssinia. Solitary Monks ventured further into the kingdom of Satan; through the savage Gallas they passed to Melinda or Zanguebar; others, committing themselves to the merchant vessels, preached the way of salvation to Cape Guardafui, Zocotra, and distant Ceylon. Here the two great armies of Christian warriors met, having embraced a quarter of the then known world in their holy circle.

Northward, latest but most victoriously, Constantinople sent out her envoys; Constantine convinced Vladimir by the Icon of the last judgment of the "good to those at the right hand, the woe to those at the left;" the idol Peroun was carried by the Dnieper to the sea; further and further the pioneers of the truth pushed their way; Moscow, and Kieff, and Vladimir owned their Metropolitans; tribes unknown to the ancients received spiritual illumination. Undeterred by Sarmatian forest or Estiæan swamp, the soldiers of the Cross went on conquering and to conquer till they stood on the barbarous shores of the 'Sluggish Sea.' Thence their holy chivalry bore them eastward; overleaping the Ural Mountains they forced their way into Siberia; slowly and painfully they advanced towards the rising sun, preaching the glad tidings of the Sun of Righteousness; at Irkoutsk, and Sitka, and Tomsk, after centuries of warfare, they have placed a vicar of CHRIST for the feeding of His flock; and thus, on the borders of Chinese Tartary, they hailed the disciples of the early teachers that went forth from Edessa. And even as I write, missionary zeal has not abated. On the unknown shores of the Aleoutine Islands a band of faithful Priests have sealed with their labours the Faith that they taught, and thus have raised the standard of the Eastern Church in the Western World.

And this Church, fighting hand to hand, now for eighteen centuries, with every kind of idolatry, and not relaxing in its labours, in this old age of the world,—this Church, privileged to work a conversion on the largest scale that has been seen since the days of the Apostles, namely, that of Russia,—that saith to the East, Give up, and to the South, Keep not back,—this Church, forsooth, is not a missionary Church!

Again,—it is said, and said by one who, better than most, knew the value of what he was asserting,—“Whether the Greek Communion be not one of the superstitions that invade a population, like some ingrained and inveterate odour, and die at length, because nothing lasts for ever, remains to be seen.” How do we answer the assertion?

The Impostor of Mecca poured out his hordes from Arabia, and taught them to look for a type of the cool shades of

Paradise in the shadows of the clashing scymitars. Persia fell before his generals: Abubekr and Omar poured their legions into Syria: Antioch, and Jerusalem, and Aleppo, and Alexandria bowed themselves before the accursed crescent. The empire of the Cæsars was vanquished, and limited, and contracted: the spiritual dominion of the Eastern Church stooped not to the Victor. Many a noble victory was won for CHRIST: many a glorious athlete was sent to martyrdom. The Church rode out this storm: as little did she quail before the successive billows of devastation that poured in around her. The Caliphates, Ommiad, Fatimite, and Ayoubite rose and fell: she, hated, despised, persecuted by all, mocked at their destruction: the Seljukian Sultanate glared and was extinct like a meteor: the Mongolian hordes filled Asia and half Europe with devastation and dismay: and finally the Turks overwhelmed Constantinople itself, and closed the annals of the Eastern Empire. But the Eastern Church survived: dispirited, persecuted, humbled to the very dust, from generation to generation she handed down the power of the Keys, and offered the Mystic Sacrifice; and even when most depressed by the scholastic subtleties and political intrigues of her Roman Sister, even then she triumphed most gloriously over Calvinism and its attendant heresies. And at this time, when every thing betokens the approaching dissolution of the Ottoman Empire, when the most widely extended nation, and the mightiest Emperor in the world, profess the Oriental Faith, when the great line of railway which will connect England with India, the main artery of universal commerce, must intersect in half its length the domain of the Eastern Church, it is impossible, humanly speaking, but that a bright future is still before her. And it may well be that in the great regeneration of the Church, in the second and more blessed Pentecost, the Œcumenical Throne of the East will bear no small part.

To write, therefore, of the Eastern Church cannot fail to be a work of deep interest: if only the difficulty and peril which attend such a task do not prove too much for him who has taken it in hand.

It is well known that Ecclesiastical History, posterior to

the division of the East and West, has attached itself almost entirely to the progress and fortunes of the Latin Church. Writers of the Roman Communion could not be expected to interest themselves much in the annals of a body which they regard as schismatical; while, excepting in that Communion, no authors of eminence have treated of the period in question, and of the events which it involved. Thus it has come to pass that in the volumes of Baronius and Fleury, of Raynaldus and Orsi, of Alexander and Rohrbacher, the Eastern Church is rarely mentioned except when some forced or pretended reconciliation with Rome brings her on the stage. And if we look for information to Oriental writers, we find that a general history of the Eastern Communion is a thing which does not exist. Each of the Patriarchates has, more or less satisfactorily, its own series of chronologers, for we can dignify them by no higher title. But their action and reaction on each other, their existence as a whole, their inward life, the working of the One SPIRIT in every member, these things are dismissed as unimportant, or omitted as unknown. Hence the annals of the Eastern Patriarchates are the mere skeletons of history. These bones must be collected and clothed with flesh and sinews, and (if it may be) endued with the breath of life: and all of these tasks are attended with no ordinary difficulty. Another consideration leads to the same result.

The historical writers whom I have mentioned had no common language. Greek, in various degrees of corruption, Arabic, Syriac, Russ, Armenian, these are the principal sources from whence our materials are to be obtained. Add to this, the great difficulty of arriving at the fountain-head of information: the precious MSS. mouldering in far distant monasteries,—in the abbey-fortress of Etchmiadzine, in the steepes of Meteora, in the Desert of Cells, in the Holy Mountain:—add the destruction of ancient documents, the unexplained and inexplicable contradictions which the carelessness of Eastern writers has introduced: the tedious prolixity in which they involve their facts; the total absence of true criticism which they manifest; the unfortunate pertinacity with which they relate at the greatest length those matters

of which they themselves had least personal knowledge ; the want of any faithful clue to the labyrinth of doubts and hesitations in which the historian of the Oriental Church is involved ; these things might well suffice to deter the warmest lover of Ecclesiastical History from attempting,—whatever be its interest,—that of the East. In the following pages, however, whether they are to be praised as laborious, or condemned as presumptuous, that task has been undertaken.

It will be proper, in the outset, to say a few words on the general arrangement of this History. It is intended to consist of four parts. In the first, which is now presented to the reader, I endeavour, by way of introduction, to give a general view of the Geographical divisions, Liturgical rites, Ecclesiology, doctrinal tenets, and controversies, of the Eastern Church, as well as of those heretical, though Apostolical, Communions, which are separated from it.

In the second, which has already been published, I relate the History of the Patriarchate of Alexandria.

In the third, with God's blessing, I hope to tell of those of Antioch and Jerusalem, together with their dependencies, or offshoots, the Catholicate of Chaldæa, the Jacobite Maphrianate, and the Armenian Patriarchate.

In the fourth, I may write of Constantinople, and those Churches, as Russia, Servia, and Georgia, which, originally under its rule, have long since thrown off its jurisdiction.

It may appear strange to the reader, as it would have at one time appeared strange to myself, that I should prefer writing separately of the three great divisions of the Eastern Church, rather than intertwining their story in one continuous narrative. Much, doubtless, may be urged on both sides of the question ; but the plan which I have adopted seemed to me to have the fewest incumbrances, and the most palpable advantages. The various branches of the Eastern Church have often no more connexion with each other than they have with the Western. To be called from Constantinople to Diampier, from Ethiopia to Russia, from Bosnia to Siganfu, to have five or six different threads of narration, each, too often, perplexed in itself, and all to be taken up in their turn, to encounter all the disadvantages, without being en-

abled to balance them by the accuracy, of annals, to interest the reader in a contest against heresy in the East, and then transport him to a battle against Erastianism in the West, appeared to me objections far overbalancing that of the slight, and sometimes perhaps not unprofitable, tautology that is involved in my present plan. The example of Gibbon has*, indeed, been quoted against me: but surely it tells on the other side. That great historian—for such even an enemy must confess him—though obliged to give sketches of the previous history of one nation after another, as they appeared on the Roman stage, had nevertheless, during the greater part of his work, but one thread of narration, to which it was not difficult to refer all subordinate subjects. Where it became necessary for him to take up a totally different narrative, as in his distorted sketch of the History of the Eastern Church, or in his relation of the fortunes of the city of Rome, there he began again from the beginning, and made no attempt to weave these unconnected narratives into the body of his history. I, on the contrary, had three distinct tales to relate: for to refer every thing to Constantinople, as in the Latin Church to Rome, would be manifestly unfair.

In choosing this plan several years ago, I did so to the best of my judgment, both as regards the statement made above, and also with respect to other influences of which it would not interest, and could not profit, the reader to be informed. In reviewing this decision, I have the comfort of believing that it was for the best.

It is not to be expected that a history of any Church can be so well written as by one who is a member of that Church; who is imbued with all its feelings, has adopted all its prepossessions, and who is therefore able to look at its actions exactly in the point of view in which they are most clearly to be understood. This being, in the present case, impossible, I have at least endeavoured, so far as might be, to put myself in an Oriental position, and from that position to review the scenes which pass before us. I shall constantly

* Since these pages have been written, another reviewer, taking precisely the opposite view, would have had the

history of the Catholic and heretical Churches of Alexandria, kept entirely separate. *Medio tutissimus ibis.*

reckon among the Saints those whom the Eastern Church, whether with or without the consent of the West, so accounts; and shall as unhesitatingly speak of S. Symeon of Thessalonica and S. Metrophanes of Voronej, as of S. Cyril of Alexandria, or S. Flavian of Constantinople. In the same manner, I shall employ, without any decision in all cases as to their accuracy or propriety, the usual expressions of Oriental phraseology: I shall lament the 'Latinising' tendencies of the Western Provinces; shall honour the 'incorruptible remains' of one who died in the odour of sanctity; and shall dignify the Bishop of Constantinople with the title of Ecumenical Patriarch.

In glancing our eyes over the general characteristics of the Eastern Church, we shall find one or two broad lines of demarcation between her and her Roman Sister. It may not be unprofitable to pay a brief attention to them.

I. The tendency of the Western Church,—I say it neither in censure nor praise, but merely as an allowed fact,—has been to embroil herself with the kings and the kingdoms of this world. The two swords claimed by the Roman Pontiff,—the double character of the Bishop of Rome, as an Italian sovereign, and Ecumenical Prelate,—the vast contributions necessary to the maintenance of the dignity or luxury of the Chair of S. Peter,—all these considerations conduced to such a result. On the contrary, the Regale and the Pontificale in the East have, generally speaking, gone hand in hand. A separate and independent state implied a separate and independent hierarchical government. While the Emperors of Byzantium were rulers of the Eastern world, the Patriarchal Throne of that city exalted itself to all but an equality with Rome. As the political importance of Constantinople declined, and new states branched off from her, so the spiritual dominions of her Bishop contracted themselves, and autocephalous metropolitans arose in all directions. The orthodox monarchs of Georgia and Abkhasia each supported his own Catholic. Servia, when raised to political importance, consecrated its own Patriarch at Uschize. Russia, so long faithful to Constantinople, at length claimed a fifth Patriarchal Throne for Moscow. Even in our own times, we

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History is unseen in the Annals of the East. The pride, or ambition, or passion of the Roman Pontiff impelled him too often to employ spiritual censures to enforce his temporal demands: where the sword of war failed, the weapon of excommunication was unsheathed; the allies of Rome contributed men and arms, Rome herself the more tremendous artillery of an interdict; the dying departed without the consolations of religion, because Venice was to be humbled, or Lucca checked; and the result, the most inevitable result, inevitable as far back as Boniface VIII., was, that Church censures were braved, were found innocuous, became ridiculous, recoiled on their forgers,—the Pontifical system fell, and great was the fall of it.

In the East, on the contrary, excommunication is as much the object of dread now, as in the days of S. Chrysostom or S. Germanus; the weapon has not been misused, and still graces the armoury of the Church: the power of the Keys is most simply and earnestly believed, and the belief is carried out into action; the censure of a poor country Papas outweighs, in present effect, that of a Western Bishop.

Again, the ever-craving calls of Rome for money are miserable features of Western History. Hence petitories, annates, Peter's pence; hence commendams, first vacancies, dispensation from orders; hence Cardinals heaped to themselves Bishoprick on Bishoprick, engrossed the incomes of Abbeys they had never seen, aggregated prebendal revenues from Cathedrals of far distant countries; hence, as times grew worse, the reserves of the Roman Chancery; the Absolutions from the censure of a legitimate Prelate; the encouragement of Appeals; and, finally, the dreadful mission of Tetzels.

In the East the case was, fortunately, different. During the Byzantine Empire the Œcumenical Patriarch, and the gorgeous train of the dignitaries of the Great Church, were supported by fixed and stipulated revenues. During Turkish dominion, the temptation to splendour and pomp has ever been small; superior reputation for riches being the sure step to deprivation of them. Similarly, the wars of the Popes, into whose treasury the coffers of Cathedrals and Abbeys

were so often poured, had no parallel in the East;—and the lamentable inconsistency of the union in one person of the Headship of the Church, which involves peace with all mankind, and a temporal sovereignty, which involves war with enemies, is happily there unknown.

II. That the Oriental Church has been able to adapt herself to the wants of her members with the happy flexibility of machinery which characterises her Roman Sister, cannot for a moment be asserted.

As to her services, though less in an unknown tongue than those of the Western Church, they are of such a character—the Liturgy always excepted—that for the poor and ignorant to derive full edification from them is impossible. The innumerable and endless Canons,—the wearisome Theotokia and Staurotheotokia, containing but one meaning, expressed in a thousand different forms,—the acrostichs, the Contakia, the Stichera,—all these contrast most unfavourably with the well-chosen lessons,—the beautiful antiphons,—the short appropriate responses, of the Breviary. The immense prolixity of the Greek offices, the unreasonable repetitions—even to fifty times—of the *Kyrie eleison*,—the bombastic style of the hymns,—the tragedy-like phrases,—the continual attempt at fine writing,—these things render nearly the whole of the *Menæa* (intended only for monastic leisure) less fitted for the edification of a Christian people.

At the same time we must remember that to read these compositions, only intended to be sung, is to subject them to a very severe trial; that the peasantry are deeply attached to them, and join in them, heart and soul; and that habit reconciles to their tautology, and only develops their beauty.

Again, the territorial divisions of the Eastern Church involve a kind of unreality in the present age of the world. The Œcumenical Patriarch legislates only for part of Turkey and Asia Minor; Alexandria is limited to Egypt; Antioch to Syria; Jerusalem to a Diocese not larger than three or four English counties; while the Metran of Abyssinia claims all Africa excepting Egypt; the Holy Governing Synod rules half Asia and the third part of Europe; and the Catholic of Seleucia would have dominion “from sea

to sea, and from the" Caspian "flood unto the world's end."

It is clear that of the four great Sees Constantinople alone should have remained the seat of a Patriarchate. The Throne of Antioch has, in fact, been removed to Damascus; had it been stationed at Bagdad or Mosul, had it thrown out a Catholic to Delhi or Bombay, the heresy of central Asia might have been averted. The Throne of Jerusalem might have been established at Moscow, instead of the fifth Patriarchate there seated in the sixteenth century.

Some such re-arrangement of provinces was contemplated in the time of Theodore Balsamon. But he preferred the literary ease of Constantinople to a missionary warfare with Mahometanism; and brought his immense influence in favour of non-residence with a zeal worthy of a Hoadley or a Warburton. The opportunity was lost;—the more convenient season never came.

The Church, it is true, is immutable in her principles;—and so far, the Oriental Branch maintains the type; but in her manner of bringing them to bear, she is singularly pliable; and so far the type is violated in the East. The stiffness, so to speak, which, when applied to *doctrine*, has preserved her in her own glorious orthodoxy, has cast out Arian and Nestorian, Eutychian and Monothelite, fenced truth on one side at Ephesus, and on the other at Chalcedon, confounded one heresy in the fifth, the opposite in the sixth, Œcumenical Council,—that stiffness has been less happily turned to matters of *discipline*, where variations, great and important variations, are worked by "That One and the Self-same Spirit."

The Church begins with an Episcopate, she ends with a Patriarchate; she begins with hermits; she forms them into communities, and they become monks; she sends them out into the world, and they are friars; she bids them "go to the great men and speak to them," and they are Jesuits. In an ignorant age, the Benedictine went out into his garden and planted cabbages; in a learned age, he sat in his cell, and edited the Fathers.

It is just this flexibility in which the Eastern Church has

greatly failed ; she has not adapted herself to the change of circumstances around her ; her services are unaltered in details, and have thereby lost much of their original spirit. The expulsion of Catechumens was necessary during the first six centuries, therefore it is unmeaningly retained now ; God's blessing was invoked on the Emperor a thousand years ago, therefore, though the Throne of the Byzantine Cæsars has crumbled to the dust, the same intercession is still made. And so, in innumerable other particulars of a similar kind, probably no office-books ever needed so thorough a revision, or would better repay it, than those of the Oriental Church.

And yet it cannot be denied that in some respects the East has known better how to accommodate itself to the times than her Roman Sister. The passion for vernacular translations of the Scriptures was met by Rome with less than her usual tact : she strove to repress it, failed, and the concession was at last made with a bad grace. The Eastern Church has rather encouraged it ; has thereby avoided giving her enemies a great handle against her ; has saved her children from the snares that might otherwise have beset them, and has preserved their allegiance inviolate.

So again, she has not vainly insisted on keeping up territorial jurisdiction. Constantinople surrendered Russia when it was manifestly inconsistent with the dignity of that Church to depend on a See which might be influenced or corrupted by Turkish despotism ; in our own day she has resigned Greece, rather than give a worldly government a handle for a subversion of the Faith.

III. I will conclude by a few remarks on the most important feature of the Greek Church in a practical point of view to ourselves ; that, as it has well been said, it presents "the phenomenon of a permanent Christian Society and doctrine, exterior to the Roman obedience."

It need hardly be said, that all possible theories of the Church may be reduced to four. The Hildebrandine regards it as a despotic monarchy, to be governed in all things according to the will of God's Vicegerent, that Vicegerent being, *jure divino*, the Bishop of Rome. In him only the plenitude of power resides : Councils are convoked merely to

ratify, or to add lustre to, his decisions; "none," in the words of the gloss, "may venture to enquire, Why doest thou thus?"—and the Church, to use Cajetan's expression, "is the born slave of the Roman Pontiff." The Gallican theory views the Church as a constitutional monarchy, of which the Pope is either *Jure Divino*, or merely *Jure Ecclesiastico*, the responsible head; invested with legislative and executive functions while the supreme representative power of the Church, the Œcumenical Council, is in abeyance: but owing implicit obedience to such a Synod when assembled, liable to be suspended or deposed by it, and compelled to submit to its decisions on pain of the guilt and the consequences of schism. The Cyprianic view represents the Church as a pure republic: every Bishop equal, not only in inherent powers, but in external jurisdiction: the keys confided to the unity of the Church, and thence equally derived to the units: the institution of metropolitical and primatial Sees a mere accident, contrived rather for dispatch and order than for government and authority.

None of these, it need scarcely be observed, is the Oriental scheme of the Church. By the East it ever was, and still is, regarded as an unmixed oligarchy: based indeed on the great body of Prelates, but gradually, through the various stages of Bishops, Metropolitans, Primates, and Exarchs, finding its sovereignty in the Five Patriarchal Thrones. These were, each in its own Diocese, what the Gallican theory makes the Pope in the Universal Church: not amenable to the jurisdiction of any of their brethren separately, and, if they erred, requiring nothing less than an Œcumenical Synod to depose them; acknowledging a priority in order, and perhaps, in the case of Rome, an undefined and undefinable something more,—a privilege of interference that might not have been brooked from another Patriarchal See. Hence in Egypt, Syria, and Russia, elevation from an Episcopal to a Patriarchal Throne was accompanied by reordination;—hence the decisions of the Chair of S. Mark,—and in like manner of the other Chairs,—were received as the dictates of inspiration.

Now, out of all these theories, we must accept either the

Hildebrandine or the Oriental : for the plain reason that the others have been weighed in the balance and found wanting. The Cyprianic, whatever may be its beauty and simplicity, existed only in Africa, and were now clearly impossible :—the Gallican, after obtaining a victory at Constance, and nearly winning a complete triumph at Basle, made one brief struggle for life under Bossuet and his fellows, and then fell for ever. But Rome and Constantinople still hold each their own theory ;—and the existence and domination of each is so far a proof that each is right.

We are not, of course, about to enter into the controversy : all we say is, that the Eastern Church, in its simple existence, is a sufficient answer to the Roman assertion that a real Church cannot exist save in visible communion with the Chair of S. Peter. It is idle to keep (as controversialists, and especially Anglo-Roman controversialists, love to keep) the East in the back-ground. It is idle to tell us that its existence is mechanical, that it is in a state of decay, that in the natural course of things it must soon perish, that the only wonder is it has not perished before. On the Roman hypothesis, it is not only wonderful, but inexplicable. Rome can find no note of a Church that is not shared by the East with itself. Apostolic descent? Pius IX. can boast no better ascertained chain than Methodius or Artemius. Uncorrupted doctrine? It needs no prophet to tell us in which communion S. Athanasius or S. Leo would recognise the fairest transcript of their own minds. Sanctity? The twelve volumes of the *Menæa* assert it as fully as the *Breviary*. Miracles? The Eastern Church claims them, and canonizes for them, to this very day. Martyrdoms? The eighteenth century, which added few here and there to the glorious catalogue of Western Martyrs, was full, in Greece and Anatolia, of such triumphs for the East. Universality? In her own sense, Rome, if brought to this test, would be found wanting : and if the East has ever, in the same sense, claimed it, her assumptions were even more blameable, as the smaller and the less extended Communion. But the true note of universality is to be looked for neither in East nor in West separately : neither without the other can attain to

the measure of the stature of the fulness of CHRIST. God hasten the day when they may again be visibly one, even as He and the FATHER are One!

Lastly, to write the History of the Eastern Church ought to be a labour of love to an Englishman, not merely because it seems as though the future union of the Church were to arise from that quarter,

Via prima salutis,

Quod minime reris, Graia pandetur ab urbe.

but because, in the history of the past, Britain owes so much to, and is so closely connected with, the East. There appears little doubt, that early British orders were derived from France, as France derived her illumination from Lyons, and Lyons from Smyrna: thus by S. Polycarp tracing the gift of the HOLY GHOST to S. John. So we find S. Colman, at the conference of Strenaeshalch, quoting S. John as the author of the Paschal Computation then used in Britain; so we shall also see that in some remarkable particulars the English Liturgies approximate to the Oriental: and even in such a comparative trifle as the use of two lights on the Altar, we may trace either the early influence of the East, or more probably that of S. Theodore of Tarsus, when raised to the Archiepiscopal Throne of Canterbury. And whatever be the amount of our obligations to S. Augustine, of ever-blessed memory, (himself deriving his consecration through France from Asia,) they cannot cancel our debt to the Primeval East, for the first illumination of our country, never lost in Wales, for the thousands of souls saved in ages prior to the Roman Mission, perhaps also in some degree for the readiness with which that mission itself was received.

I cannot conclude these remarks, and address myself to the task that lies before me, better than by adopting the prayer of S. Fulgentius: "*Ipsum rogo, ut, præveniente et subsequente misericordia, quæcunque salubriter scienda nescio, doceat me; in his, quæ vera novi, custodiat me; in quibus veris titubo, confirmet me; in quibus, ut homo, fallor, corrigit me; a falsis et noxiis eripiat me; et ea faciat de ore meo procedere, quæ et coram ipsa veritate principaliter grata, et fiant fidelibus cunctis accepta, per JESUM CHRISTUM Dominum nostrum. Amen.*"



B O O K I.

THE ANCIENT AND MODERN GEOGRAPHY

OF

THE HOLY EASTERN CHURCH.

LEVA IN CIRCUITU OCULOS TUOS, ET VIDE; OMNES ISTI CONGREGATI SUNT, VENERUNT
TIBI: VIVO EGO, DICIT DOMINUS, QUIA OMNIBUS HIS VELUT ORNAMENTO VESTIBIS, ET
CIRCUNDABIS TIBI EOS QUALIS SPONSA. QUIA DESERTA TUA, ET SOLITUDINES TUÆ, ET
TERRÆ RUINÆ TUÆ NUNC ANGUSTÆ ERUNT PRÆ HABITATORIBUS, ET LONGE FUGABUN-
TUR QUI ABSORBEBANT TE. ADHUC DICENT IN AURIBUS TUIS FILII STERILITATIS TUÆ;
ANGUSTUS EST MIHI LOCUS; FAC SPATIUM MIHI UT HABITEM.—*Isaie* cap. xlix. 18, etc.

CHAPTER I.

A GENERAL VIEW OF THE METROPOLITICAL DIVISIONS OF THE HOLY EASTERN CHURCH.

THE origin and progress of the Patriarchal and Metropolitcal systems, however important in itself, and however closely connected with a right understanding of Church history, falls not within the limits which we have proposed to ourselves in the present work. Nor, did it so fall, could we hope to throw any fresh light on a point which has already been fully discussed by the great names of Ecclesiastical history. Le Quien, Schelstrate, and our own Bingham, have exhausted the subject.

It is our purpose, in the following book, to give a succinct account of the rise of the various Dioceses in the Eastern Church, and (where there are sufficient materials) of that of each of the Metropolises subject to them. We shall then turn our attention to the territorial divisions of the heretical bodies of the East; which, in some instances, co-exist with the Orthodox Church, in others have supplanted it.

We shall observe the following order:—We shall first consider Constantinople and its provinces;—then its sometime dependencies,—Greece, Servia, Russia, Georgia, Armenia:—next Alexandria and Ethiopia;—next Antioch, with its offshoot, the Chaldæan Catholicate, and the Maronite Church:—and, lastly, Jerusalem.

It is well known that, in its earliest times, the Eastern Communion contained but two Patriarchates, Alexandria and Antioch: dignified indeed with the same name, but possess-

ing very different degrees of power. The Dioceses of Pontus, Asia, and Thrace, were then governed by Exarchs of their own, seated respectively at Cæsarea, Ephesus, and Heraclea. By steps which we shall hereafter describe, the See of Constantinople was elevated, first to an honorary Patriarchate, and then to a real jurisdiction over the above-named Dioceses, taking at the same time the second place after Rome, hitherto awarded to Alexandria: and at a later period, wresting the huge Diocese of Eastern Illyricum from her Western Sister. Jerusalem also was raised to the dignity of a Patriarchal See, and the fifth place was assigned to it. This, then, was the general outline of the constitution of the Eastern Church for more than 1100 years, when a fifth Patriarchate was established at Moscow, with jurisdiction over All the Russias. That arrangement continued for little more than a century; and the Diocese of Moscow is now administered by a 'Holy Governing Synod,' the original device of Peter I.

In specifying the various provinces respectively dependent on these Dioceses, we shall give them in their most developed form. All did not co-exist: some were destroyed before others were erected. But the anachronism of giving all at one view is necessary, if we would obtain a correct idea of the jurisdiction which the Eastern Church has in former times possessed, and still claims.

The Patriarchate of Constantinople embraced the Dioceses of Pontus, Asia, Thrace, and Eastern Illyricum.

The Diocese of Pontus, under the Exarch of Cæsarea, contained the provinces of

CAPPADOCIA PRIMA . . .	Metropolis, CÆSAREA.
———— SECUNDA . . .	TYANA.
———— TERTIA . . .	JUSTINIANOPOLIS.
ARMENIA PRIMA . . .	SEBASTE.
———— SECUNDA . . .	MELITENE.
GALATIA PRIMA . . .	ANCYRA.
———— SECUNDA . . .	PESSINUS.
PONTUS POLEMONIACUS . . .	NEOCÆSAREA.
HELENOPONTUS . . .	AMASEA.
PAPHLAGONIA . . .	GANGRA.
HONORIAS . . .	CLAUDIOPOLIS.
BITHYNIA PRIMA . . .	NYCOMEDIA.
———— SECUNDA . . .	NICÆA.

The Diocese of Asia, under the Exarch of Ephesus, contained the provinces of

ASIA	Metropolis, EPHESUS.
THE HELLESPOY	CYIUCTS.
PHRYGIA PACATIANA	LACONICA.
———— SALTARIIS	SYNNADA.
LYDIA	SARDIS.
THE CYCLADES	RHODES.
LYCIA	MYRA.
PAMPHYLIA PRIMA	SIDE.
———— SECUNDA	PERGE.
PISIDIA	ASTIOCH.
LYCAONIA	ICONTIUM.

The Diocese of Thrace, under the Exarch of Heraclea, contained the provinces of

EUROPE	Metropolis, HERACLEA.
THRACE	PHILIPPOPOLIS.
HÆMIMONTUS	HADRIANOPOLIS.
RHODOPE	TRAJANOPOLIS.
SCYTHIA	TOMI.
MÆSIA INFERIOR	MARCIANOPOLIS.
WALLACHIA	{TREGOWITZ, (since
	{BUKAREST.)
MOLDOBLACHIA	SOTZOWA, (since JASSY.)

The Diocese of Eastern Illyricum, under the Exarch of Thessalonica, contained the provinces of

MACEDONIA	Metropolis, THESSALONICA.
THESSALY	LARISSA.
EPIRUS	NICOPOLIS.
HELLAS	CORINTH.
NEW EPIRUS	DYRRHACHIUM.
CRETE	GORTYNA.
PRÆVALIS	SCODRA.

The Patriarchate of Alexandria embraced the Diocese of Egypt, and the Catholicate of Ethiopia.

The Diocese of Egypt, under the Patriarch of Alexandria, had, properly speaking, no Metropolitans.

The Catholicate of Ethiopia, under the Metran of Axum, had no Metropolitans.

The Patriarchate of Antioch embraced the Diocese of Antioch, and the Catholicate of Chaldæa.

The Diocese of Antioch contained the provinces of

SYRIA PRIMA	Metropolis, ANTIOCH.
—— SECUNDA	APAMEA.
PHŒNICIA PRIMA	TYRE.
—— SECUNDA	DAMASCUS.
ARABIA	BOSTRA.
CILICIA PRIMA	TARSUS.
—— SECUNDA	ANAZARBUM.
EUPHRATES	HIERAPOLIS.
OSRHOENE	EDESSA.
MESOPOTAMIA	AMIDA.
ISAURIA	SELEUCIA.
CYPRUS	SALAMIS.

The Catholicate of Chaldæa, under the Catholic of Magna Seleucia, Babylon, Bagdad, or Mosul, contained

JUNDISHAPOOR, (Khuzistan in Persia.)

NISIBIS.

MAISAN, or BASSORA.

MOSUL, or ADIABENE.

BETH-GARMA, in Assyria.

HALACHAH, or ZOHAB, (the border land of Persia and Media.)

PERSIA, (from Van to Hormuz.)

MEEV, (in Khorassan.)

HERAT.

ARABIA.

CHINA, (probably the more southern portions.)

INDIA.

ARMENIA.

SYRIA.

BARDA, (the Province of Azerbaijan in Persia.)

RAIA, (the Rhages of Tobit, now Rai near Teheran,) and TABREستان
(Ghilan and Mazanderan.)

DAILAM, (on the southern banks of the Caspian.)

SAMARCAND.

CASHGAR and TURKESTAN, (Independent Tartary.)

BALKH.

SEISTAN.

HAMADAN, (Media.)
 CHAKRALEK, (Pekin.)
 TANGUTH,
 CHASENGARA and NUACHETA *, } in Tartary.

This wonderful Diocese, as we shall see, received its death-blow at the capture of Bagdad by Hulaku Khan; and now the Nestorians are almost confined to Kurdistan.

The Patriarchate of Jerusalem contained the provinces of

PALESTINA PRIMA	.	.	Metropolis, CÆSARÆA.
——— SECUNDA	.	.	SCYTHOPOLIS.
——— TERTIA	.	.	PETRA.

The Diocese of Russia was under the Patriarchate of Moscow; it is now under the Holy Governing Synod of All the Russias.

The Kingdom of Greece formed part of the Diocese of Illyricum Orientale: it is now under its own Holy Governing Synod.

The Diocese of Armenia was and is under the Patriarch of Etchmiadzine.

The Diocese of Georgia was originally under the Catholic of Mtaketh; it is now immediately under the Archbishop of Tiflis, and mediately under the Holy Governing Synod of Russia.

The Jacobite Diocese of Antioch, as locally occupying the same ground with the Catholic Throne, claims no notice here.

* For this list I am indebted to Mr. Layard's *Researches in Nineveh*, (i. 255,) whence, with one or two alterations, I have copied it. It is by far more correct than those of Le Quien or Yeates, or even Asseman.

CHAPTER II.

CONSTANTINOPLE AND ITS PROVINCES.

THE See of Constantinople, as well from its superior dignity as from the struggle which it long maintained with Rome for the Primacy of the world, demands our first notice.

Byzantus, before its selection by Constantine as the seat of the Empire, was a city of some importance: but yet does not appear to have possessed any Bishop of its own. And this is the less strange, because in Thrace it was usual that one Prelate should administer the affairs of two or three Churches^a. The vanity of Byzantine authors forged, indeed, under the name of Dorotheus of Tyre, a list of twenty-two Bishops, of whom they make S. Andrew the Apostle to have been first, and S. Stachys the second^b. But this composition carries palpable marks of falsehood:—and we meet with the names of but three Prelates who governed Byzantus, as suffragans of Heraclea, the Exarchate of the Thracian Diocese, before its refoundation.

Under the Exarchs of that city the Bishops of Constantinople were content to remain for several years. In the meantime, the Prelates of Alexandria, as the first of the Eastern Churches, gradually assumed the right of consecrating the Bishops of the Eastern Metropolis. The claims of Heraclea grew antiquated: and, in a short time, subjection even to Alexandria was considered unworthy of the dignity of the Byzantine Throne. By the second Canon of the second Œcumenical Council it was decreed that the Bishops of Alexandria should for the future direct the affairs of Egypt alone, in the same manner that the Bishops of Asia were to govern the Churches of that Diocese, an honorary pre-

^a See the memorial presented by Euprepus of Byze and Arcadiopolis at the Council of Ephesus. Le Quien, i. 12. (We shall not henceforth give particular references to this author: we have already confessed our obliga-

tions in this first book to him, and the reader will find his Essay on Constantinople at pp. 1—161 of his *Oriens Christianus*.)

^b Romans xvi. 9.

eminence being given to Antioch: those of Pontus the Pontic, those of Thracia the Thracian Dioceses. By the third, the See of Constantinople was declared to be second in dignity to Rome alone: those of Alexandria and Antioch being compelled to descend one place each.

To this Canon, passed in the absence of the Patriarch of Alexandria, at a time when Rome was not represented at all, and Antioch only partially so, the Chair of St. Peter opposed its most vigorous efforts. The Popes constantly drew a line between the Creed promulgated, and the Canons passed, in the Council of Constantinople: the former they received, from the latter they dissented. Alexandria also resisted the pre-eminence of her rival, though without intercession, and, apparently, as an immaterial point. Antioch seems to have acquiesced. Theophilus, indeed, Bishop of Alexandria, and uncle and predecessor of St. Cyril, availed himself of the ancient privileges of his See to depose St. Chrysostom in the Council of the Oak: but the Metropolitan of Hieracia presided at that Synod^a.

The pre-eminence, however, which Constantinople enjoyed was simply honorary:—though Nectarius, who was advanced at the conclusion of the Second Ecumenical Council, was intrusted, for a particular purpose, and temporarily with the charge of the Thracian Diocese. By degrees, however, he, and in a more marked manner his successor, St. John Chrysostom, arrogated to themselves not only that, but also the Pontic and Asian Dioceses: a claim which was tacitly sanctioned by the Fathers of Ephesus. The frequent Synods assembled, for the Imperial convenience, at Constantinople, seemed to give its Prelate a right of convoking his brethren,—and he took care not to lose through negligence what he had acquired through chance. St. Atticus of Constantinople not only asserted his right to Thrace, but also to Eastern Illyricum: and he found a ready patron in Theodosius the Younger^c. The law which assigned Illyricum to Constantinople further enacted that this See enjoyed all the prerogatives of ancient Rome:

^a Bonifac. I. Ep. ad Rufin Thesalonie. Sixt. III. Ep. ad Episc. Illyr.

^b Socrat. H. E. vi. 11.

^c Cod. Theodos. cap. xiv. Tit. de Episc. et Cler.

but Rufus of Thessalonica and Pope S. Boniface I. of Rome, submitted so strong a protest, through Honorius, to Theodosius, that he was induced to abrogate the statute. On this, Atticus turned his attention to the Eastern Dioceses; and by means of a law, expressed with convenient vagueness, which he persuaded the Emperor to enact, forbidding the consecration of Bishops without the concurrence of the See of Constantinople, he obtained, in a very considerable degree, Patriarchal authority in Pontus and Asia. This was extended and confirmed by his successor, Sisinnius I.: and finally, by the XXVIIIth Canon of Chalcedon, custom was made law, and the Patriarch of Constantinople found himself possessed of greater powers than any of his brethren, the Roman See scarcely, at that time, excepted: the Dioceses of Thrace, Pontus, and Asia, being intrusted to him.

The Roman Legates, supported by the Bishops of Illyricum, who had not been present at the passing of this Canon, protested against it, and demanded that the Fathers should be again assembled, and interrogated whether these extraordinary privileges had been conceded to Constantinople with the good will and unbiassed assent of those Prelates and Metropolitans who were chiefly concerned. Those of Pontus and Asia unanimously declared their full acquiescence in it; and the Metropolitan of Ancyra observed that he had already surrendered to the See of Constantinople the right of consecrating the Metropolitan of Gangra; but neither these representations, nor the earnest entreaty first of the Fathers, and then of Marcian, could prevail on S. Leo to consent to this Canon. He drew the same distinction which had been before used between declaration of doctrine, and enactment of discipline; protesting that he followed the Œcumenical Council in the former, but rejected its decision in the latter. He endeavoured to stir up the other Patriarchal Sees against this invasion of their rights, and he partially succeeded. The XXVIIIth Canon was long rejected in Egypt; and Ephesus, a See which till then had been accounted equal, in all but in name, to the Patriarchal Thrones, ill endured to become a mere dependant on a suffragan of Heraclea. Acacius, however, who held the Throne of Constantinople

from A.D. 471—489, accomplished the subjugation of Epiphanius, by deprecating any distinction between the doctrinal teaching and the decision on discipline of the Council of Chalcedon. Having obtained a law from the Emperor Zeno¹ which placed him, in this respect, at the summit of his wisdom, Acacius next proceeded to claim the right of consecrating the other Patriarchs. This, in some measure, he made good; and the great preponderance which from that time forth Constantinople acquired is well known. Myriam, Bulgaria, and Russia, in spite of the most determined efforts of Rome, submitted to its rule; and finally, in the Council of Lateran, Innocent III. confirmed the third Canon of Constantinople, against which his predecessors had, till that time, vainly protested.

The assumption of the Title of Ecumenical Patriarch was another proof of the vast designs entertained by the Bishops of Constantinople. The name had been already applied to the See of Rome in the persons both of S. Leo and Hormisdas, and to that of Alexandria in the person of Dioscorus, when Justinian, in a rescript to Epiphanius of Constantinople, bestowed the same appellation on that Patriarch², as certain Syrian monks had done on his predecessor John II. The title was thenceforth occasionally employed: and in a Council holden at Constantinople in A.D. 536, Mennas openly claimed it. Epiphanius, indeed, had carried his pretensions still further: and for some time refused to yield precedence to Pope John, when at Constantinople.

John the Faster, who ascended the Byzantine Chair A.D. 582, in summoning a General Council of the East, assumed the same title, and met with a vigorous opponent in Pelagius II. The resistance offered by S. Gregory the Great to the application of this title either to himself or others, is well known. He was unable, however, to induce the Sees of Alexandria and Antioch to interfere effectively in the matter;—and though Phocas, in compliance with the earnest demands of Rome, abolished the name, it was soon after resumed, and is maintained by the Patriarchs of Constantinople to this day. As a general rule it is understood by the Oriental Church in the limited meaning of referring to

¹ Cod. Justin. Tit. de Sacrosanct. Eccl. cap. xvi. ² Facund. Hermian. ii. 11.

the Eastern world only :—but there have not been wanting those who explained it in the fullest sense in which Rome would claim the same dignity. How nearly the Patriarchs had attained the reality, as well as the name, will be told when we write of Photius and his successors. And probably they must have succeeded in the object of their ambition, had not the fluctuating favour of Emperors and courts allowed so few Prelates to preside at Constantinople during the term of their natural lives.

At the capture of Constantinople by the Turks, Mahomet shewed very considerable favour towards the Christians, and invested the Patriarch with the Pastoral Staff, as the Emperors had done. Freedom of election continued during the lives of the four succeeding Prelates ; then the simoniacal precedent of bribing the Sultan was introduced by a competitor for the Patriarchal Chair :—and the *Charatzium* or *Pescesium*, for so the tribute is called, has sometimes amounted to twenty-five thousand dollars. This, in its turn, has introduced the simoniacal practice of selling orders ; and though a few noble-minded Patriarchs, such as Jeremiah II., have strenuously opposed this sin, it has hitherto prevailed against all laws, and has eaten into the very heart of the See of Constantinople.

The loss of Servia, and Russia, and Greece, we shall notice under those countries respectively.

Of the unhappy position of the Patriarchs during the war of freedom, we shall have occasion to speak when writing of Greece. The murder of S. Gregory was the disgrace of Christendom.

The common synod of the Patriarch^b consists of eight resident ecclesiastics, and the Archbishops of Chalcedon and Darias. These, with representatives from the nobility, the citizens and the trades, form the Assembly : they transact all pecuniary matters ; and the election of the Patriarch rests with them.

Twice a week, assisted by a particular synod, the Patriarch administers justice, with the same formalities as the Vizer : and may punish with exile, imprisonment, or the galleys.

^b Walsh's Constantinople, ii. 363.

This count has the privilege of wearing his Episcopal cap with confidence by the Turks, and wearing his turban.

The Great Synod is composed of the Patriarch and seven Metropolitans:—first, it there is no synod, and it is the function of the Sultan not directed. After leaving on Sunday and holidays they meet in the Patriarch's Hall, and there transact ecclesiastical business.

DIOCESE OF CAPPADOCIA—CÆSAREA EPIARCHY.

The greater part of the Pontic Diocese, of which Cæsarea was the head, received the Faith from S. Peter: and were further confirmed in it by S. Paul¹. At the time of S. Basil the dignity of Cæsarea seems to have been universally acknowledged, and the ecclesiastical at that period contained several provinces which were afterwards taken from it. Such was Paphlagonia, or, at least, Lycania. In like manner, the Catholic of Armenia was long consecrated, and longer approved, by the See of Cæsarea. The Exarch of Cæsarea was subjected to the Chair of Constantinople before his brother Prelate of Ephesus: and this was probably the reason why he was dignified with the vain titles of Most Excellent of the Most Excellent, and Protocæphalus of the (Ecumenical) Patriarch. In the like capacity, on a vacancy of the See of Heraclea, it was his place to consecrate the Bishop of Constantinople. Cæsarea had metropolitical rights over the whole of Cappadocia, till the division of that province, as we shall presently notice. After that separation, very few episcopal Sees remained in subjection to Cæsarea:—but fifty chorepiscopi continued his suffragans. Cæsarea has long since perished: and in Kesarieh, the adjacent town which has risen out of its ruins, there are but a few Christian families. The Metropolitan, who has not a single suffragan in his obedience, usually resides at Constantinople.

Not many illustrious Prelates have adorned this See: S. Firmilian and S. Basil are its greatest honours;—and its first Bishop is said to have been S. Primianus, better

¹ S. Pet. Ep. i. 1.

² Acts xviii. 20. S. Chrysost., Hom. xx. in Epist. ad Roman.

known by the name of Longinus, the soldier who pierced the Saviour's Side with his spear.

CAPPADOCIA SECUNDA : Metropolis, TYANA.

The province of Cappadocia, being inconveniently large, was divided by Valens into two parts, Tyana being constituted Metropolis of the second ; an arrangement of which S. Basil did not approve. It appears to have been also called Christopolis, a distinction to which it has no especial claim. Not one of its Prelates has rendered his name illustrious in the Church. It is still a See, but is occupied by an Armenian Bishop.

CAPPADOCIA TERTIA : Metropolis, JUSTINIANOPOLIS.

Justinian, on again dividing Cappadocia Secunda, rebuilt the decayed town of Mocusus or Mocissus, and called it by his own name, making it the Metropolis of the new province. It did not, however, acquire metropolitical rights in the Church till after the Sixth Œcumenical Synod.

ARMENIA PRIMA : Metropolis, SEBASTE.

That part of Armenia which lies on this side Euphrates came into the possession of the Romans on the death of Deiotarus. It was long a portion of Cappadocia, till the increasing importance of its cities, and more especially Sebaste, which at the time of its capture by the Turks numbered 120,000 inhabitants, constituted it a separate province. Among its Prelates S. Blasius is known to the whole Church¹, and Eustathius procured himself a less enviable notoriety as one of the leaders of the Semiarians during the troubles of the fourth century.

ARMENIA SECUNDA : Metropolis, MELITENE.

Armenia was divided into two provinces by Trajan. Melitene its capital, illustrious for the holy martyrdoms of two of

¹ The *Menæa*, prettily enough :
Βοῶν ἐπαύλεις Βλάσιον εἶχον πάλαι·
Αἰόλαι δὲ νῦν ἔχουσιν αὐτὸν Κυρίου.

Another reason, we may remark, for his being the patron of wool-combers.

its early Bishops, SS. Euppsychius^m and Acacius, has been subjected to more changes than most cities. It early fell into the hands of the Saracens, who named it Malatia; it was retaken, and demolished by Constantine Copronymus; rebuilt and fortified by Abderrahman; retaken by the Crusaders; and finally subjugated by the Turks. It still exists as a Jacobite See.

GALATIA PRIMA : Metropolis, ANCYRA.

This See claimed the next place to that of Heraclea, as holding the primacy, next to the Exarchal Chair, in the Pontic Diocese. It undoubtedly was an Episcopal city from the time of the Apostles; and the journeyings of S. Paul in the country of which it was the Metropolis, and his epistle to its inhabitants on the abolition of legal observances, prove how soon the true faith was known there. At a later period of the Oriental Church, it was made subject to Nazianzum. At present, under the name of Angouri, it has a Metropolitan of its own. Two of its early Bishops, Theodore and Clement, are reckoned^a among the Saints; and at a later period Marcellus rendered his See notorious by his opposition to Arianism, and alleged addiction to Sabellianism.

GALATIA SECUNDA : Metropolis, PESSINUS.

Of the metropolis of this province, which was divided by Theodosius from Galatia Prima, we have nothing to say, except that it does not appear to have existed as a See before the fourth century, and does not now exist at all.

PONTUS POLEMONIACUS : Metropolis, NEOCÆSARÆA.

This province owes its origin to Nero. Its metropolis was erected into a See by S. Gregory the Wonder-Worker, but its Prelates do not appear to have enjoyed Metropolitan dignity till after the Second General Council. S. Basil

^m This is the proper name, as given by Le Quien, and by S. Basil, who more than once mentions the festival of this Saint (Ep. 273, &c.): but the

modern Menæa give it *Eutychius*.

^a See the Menæa, Nov. 3, and Jan. 23.

indeed, informs us that Musonius, in the fourth century, was in the habit of presiding in the Synods of those parts^o; but it was on account of his own merit, not from the dignity of his See. It is still the seat of a Metropolitan.

HELENOPONTUS: Metropolis, AMASEA.

The division of Pontus into the two provinces of Helenopontus and Pontus Polemoniachus, was the work of Constantine: and, as Justinian complains, without any public benefit^p. The name of Helenopontus was a compliment paid by the Emperor to his mother, S. Helen. Of Amasea, the birthplace of Strabo, we have nothing to remark beyond the fact that it still continues the seat of a Metropolitan.

PAPHLAGONIA: Metropolis, GANGRA.

This important province was, till the Council of Chalcedon, dependent on Ancyra. Its metropolis is noted in Ecclesiastical History for its celebrated Synod, not less uncertain as to its time than important as to its Canons, which are acknowledged by both East and West.

HONORIAS: Metropolis, CLAUDIOPOLIS.

This province was dismembered by Theodosius II. from that of Bithynia, and named in honour of his uncle Honorius^q. No Bishop of the See occurs till the time of Diocletian: when S. Autonomus, a native of Italy, preached the Gospel in that place, and suffered Martyrdom in a popular insurrection. The See is now extinct.

BITHYNIA PRIMA and SECUNDA: Metropoles, NICOMEDIA and NICÆA.

Bithynia formed but one province, of which Nicomedia was the Metropolis, till divided by Valens. Nicomedia, however, retained all its metropolitical rights: for when the Bishop of Nicæa, who had an honorary precedence, claimed the right of ordaining in the province of Bithynia Secunda,

^o S. Basil. Ep. 62.

^p Novel. 28.

^q Jo. Malelas. ii. 69.

his assumption was opposed by the Fathers of Chalcedon, on the ground that ecclesiastical divisions ought not to vary with the alteration of civil provinces. This regulation was in force at the Seventh Council; though afterwards the Metropolitan of Nicæa seems to have had six or seven Suffragans. The Gospel was preached in Bithynia by S. Peter^r, S. Paul^s, S. Luke, and S. Andrew: the first Bishop of Nicomedia is believed to have been S. Prochorus the Deacon, who suffered Martyrdom at Antioch. Both the Sees of Nicomedia and Nicæa are still extant. Chalcedon, which originally belonged to the former, was raised to honorary metropolitan rank in respect to the Fourth Œcumenical Council there celebrated. Of the Prelates of Nicomedia, Eusebius has obtained a miserable immortality: and, in the Photian troubles, John III. and George were respectively distinguished, the one as an opposer and the other as a strenuous supporter of the claims of Constantinople.

DIOCESE OF ASIA.—EPHESUS, EXARCHY.

The See of Ephesus has always been esteemed one of the first in the Church. To say nothing of the Arabic Canons of Nicæa^t, which assign no superior to it except Rome and Alexandria, it is certain that the fifth place was universally ceded to it. In process of time, by the elevation of Constantinople, it sank to the sixth; indeed, Oriental Canonists affirm that the pre-eminence of Ephesus was taken from it, to be bestowed on the Imperial City. And of this degradation, Andrew, Bishop of Cæsarea in Cappadocia, expounded that verse of the Apocalypse, "Repent, and do the first works, or else I will come unto thee quickly, and will remove thy candlestick out of his place, except thou repent." This dignity arose, not so much from the fact that Ephesus was the

^r 1 S. Pet. i. 1.

^s Acts xvi. 7.

^t The thirty-eighth Canon gives Constantinople the precedence which

Ephesus till then had, and makes it the second See. Of the authority of the Arabic Canons we have treated at p. 148 of the Hist. of Alexandria.

residence of the Proconsul of Asia, as because the Church there was planted by S. Paul, and regarded S. John as its second founder. That S. Timothy was its first Bishop^u, ecclesiastical tradition is constant in asserting: on his suffering Martyrdom, S. John is related to have consecrated a namesake of his own as second Prelate^x. From that time the See of Ephesus possessed Patriarchal authority over the whole Diocese of Asia: till, as we have related, it became subject to Constantinople, not without many struggles, and its having once, by means of Timothy the Cat, regained its right. Thus the Pontic Diocese, contrary to all ecclesiastical regulations, obtained precedence of the Asiatic: the See of Ephesus being compensated by retaining the title of Exarch of all Asia: a dignity which seems to have been little more than honorary. Even as late as the reign of Michael Palæologus, however, we find Isaac of Ephesus (circ. A.D. 1274) vindicating to the Bishops of his province the right of visitation over the exempt monasteries^y. The present state of Ephesus is most wretched. The Metropolitan Church of S. Mary has disappeared; the scarcely less famous Church of S. John has been converted into a mosque: the Christians meet in a small building at a distance from the ancient site of the city; the Bishop resides at Constantinople; and in place of the fifty Bishops whom, as Metropolitan, he had once the right of ordaining, he has now three suffragans.

Ephesus has not furnished so many illustrious characters to the Church as we might have expected from a See of such dignity. Memnon, at the time of the Third Œcumenical Council, was a vigorous defender of the Truth; and, towards the conclusion of the Eastern Empire, Mark distinguished himself by his opposition to the false union with the Latins. Even in the eleventh century Ephesus retained enough importance to be considered a fitting See for the deposed Michael Ducas.

Of late years Ephesus has been distinguished by the glorious Martyrdom of S. Dionysius Calliarchas, its Metropolitan, in 1818.

^u Euseb. H. E. iii. 4. Leontius, in Act. ii. Concil. Chalced.

^x Const. Apost. viii. 46.

^y Pachymeres vi. 16.

It has three Bishops subject to its jurisdiction, of whom hereafter, and fifty-eight towns or villages, of which the following are the most important:—

	Churches.	Orthodox Inhabitants.
1. <i>Magnesia</i> , at present the temporary Metropolis of the See	1	1,500
2. <i>Ak Gisar</i> —(<i>Thyatira</i>)	1	400
3. <i>Pergamus</i>	2	800
4. <i>Kasapass</i>	1	300
5. <i>Giagiakoi</i>	1	300
6. <i>Kiri-ciadi</i>	1	500
7. <i>Soma</i>	1	250
8. <i>Kipiess</i>	1	250
9. <i>Adramyti</i>	1	400
10. <i>Kousli Adassi</i> , or New Ephesus	2	400
11. <i>Aivali</i> or <i>Cydonia</i> (built 1730)	10	4,000
12. <i>New Phocæa</i>	1	400
13. <i>Melemene</i>	1	400
14. <i>Vourla</i> *	2	500

HELLESPONT: METROPOLIS, CYZICUS.

This extensive province was subject to Cyzicus from very early times. The Prelate was only a suffragan of the Œcumenical Throne till the reign of Justinian II.; when the Saracens, having invaded Cyprus, the autocephalous Archbishop of Constantia fled into Hellespont with a large number of his countrymen. The Emperor proposed to subject Cyzicus to the Metropolitan refugee: and his decree was made law by the Thirty-sixth Canon of the Council in Trullo. But that Canon seems to have been acted upon but for a brief time: and shortly afterwards Constantia was restored to its dignity.

PHRYGIA: PACATIANA and SALUTARIS: METROPOLES, LAODICEA and SYNNAÏA.

Phrygia formed but one province till a later period than that of Constantine: and from the earliest age it had obeyed

* This list is from Noroff's *Travels to the Seven Churches*. S. Petersburg, 1847. p. 289.

Laodicea. Of this See it is worth our notice that three of its Prelates are mentioned in Holy Scripture, Archippus^a, Nymphas^b, and that 'angel' whom S. John was commissioned to rebuke so sharply. Sagaris^c, another Prelate of primitive times, is said to have been a disciple of S. Paul. By Photius of Constantinople, Colossæ was subtracted from the obedience of Laodicea, and erected into an honorary metropolis. Of Synnada, or Synnas, in Strabo's time a small city, Ecclesiastical History records nothing of importance.

LYDIA : Metropolis, SARDIS.

This wealthy and luxurious city has long since met the fate which S. John denounced against it. "I know thy works, that thou hast a name that thou livest, and art dead. Be watchful, and strengthen the things which remain, that are ready to die: for I have not found thy works perfect before God. If therefore thou shalt not repent, I will come upon thee as a thief: and no man shall know what hour I will come upon thee." Melito, the Apologist, is the only celebrated Bishop of this Church. In the eighth century, Sardis having been ruined by the Saracens, its Metropolitcal rights were transferred to Philadelphia. At Sardis, amidst the miserable ruins of former grandeur, a few Christians are to be found without Altar and without Priest. Philadelphia^d, the faithful city, claims a few words. When Tamerlane spread terror over Asia, as many as 4,000 orthodox Eastern Christians took refuge in Venice. For a long time they possessed no Episcopate; at length the Metropolitan, or, as he called himself, Exarch of Philadelphia, stationed himself in that city. The first who did so was Gabriel Severus: he died in 1618: the last, Meletius Tipladi, who died in 1716.

S. Demetrius of Philadelphia is venerated in the Eastern Church as having obtained the crown of Martyrdom in Feb. 1657.

^a Coloss. iv. 17.

^b Coloss. iv. 15.

^c Eusebius, H. E. iv. 26.

^d Noroff, p. 137.

There are at present five Churches in Philadelphia :—

S. GEORGE, the Cathedral :

S. MICHAEL.

THE ASSUMPTION :

S. MARGARET, just erected.

S. THEODORE :

Under the Metropolitan of Philadelphia the following towns and villages contain some Christians :—

SARAKIE,

SYNNADA,

GENESLI,

SAKKLI,

USAKIM,

SART—SARDIS,

COCLIS, (two churches,)

PERGAMUS, (1000 orthodox

CULDEN, (two churches,)

inhabitants,)

KZORDIS,

ADALA.

Philadelphia is now called Alla-Shehr, the Beautiful City : and contains more orthodox Christians than any place in Asia Minor, except Smyrna.

CARIA : Metropolis, STAUROPOLIS.

This province has not acquired much fame in Church history. Aphrodisias was the original name of its Metropolis, till the piety of the Eastern Empire changed 'the City of Venus' into 'the City of the Cross.' The Church is said to owe its foundation to S. John.

The CYCLADES : Metropolis, RHODES.

Rhodes from very early times was the Metropolis of this province. S. Euphranon*, the earliest Prelate of whom mention occurs, was a vigorous opposer of that branch of the Gnostics who were known by the appellation of Encratites. In A.D. 667 the island was conquered by the Saracens, and so remained till 1309, when it was recaptured by the Knights of S. John. Thenceforward there was a succession of Latin as well as of Greek Prelates, the former assuming the title of Archiepiscopus Colossensis, from the celebrated Colossus : a name which may easily be mistaken as having some reference to Colossæ. In later times the Archbishops of Rhodes have been open to a charge of Latinising. The succession has been retained in this, as in most other of the Cyclades.

* See the Book *Prædestinatus*, cap. 24.

LYCIA : Metropolis, MYRA.

This was either not a separate province till the time of Theodosius Junior, or was then much increased by a division of Lycaonia. The Metropolis was visited by S. Paul^f, though we have no grounds for believing that this Church was founded by him. It is chiefly celebrated for the holy Bishop S. Nicolas, whose praise is in all churches, though the time of his prelature is somewhat uncertain. It would seem to have been about A.D. 330. In 1035 the city was captured by the Saracens; and since that time has dwindled away. The Bishop of Side, Metropolitan of Pisidia, for some time took charge of the few Christians who remained in Lycia: but in the last century Myra was again placed under its own titular Archbishop. The Sees of Myra, Pisidia, Attalia, and Side are now united^g. We shall hereafter give a ground-plan of the ancient Cathedral of Myra.

PAMPHILIA PRIMA and SECUNDA : Metropoles, SIDE and PERGE.

This province was divided at a time posterior to that of Constantine. Side would seem, at one period, to have been ecclesiastically subject to Iconium^h. The Gospel was probably preached here by S. Paul in his passing through Pamphylia; and in the persecution of Decius, S. Nestor, its earliest Bishop of whom we have any notice, sealed the Faith with his blood. As we have seen above, Side is now administered by the Metropolitan, or, as he terms himself, Exarch, of Pisidia. It was for some time famous for the Catechetical School, removed thither from Alexandria by Rhodon, the successor of Didymus. Perge, in the Council of Nicæa, is reckoned the Metropolis of all Pamphylia: it afterwards became the head of Pamphylia Secunda, an honour which at a later period it was reduced to share with Syllæum. The Church, as we know from the Acts of the Apostles, was founded by S. Paulⁱ. There are now no remains of Christianity in this province.

^f Acts xxvii. 5. Yet the first converts might well have been made by S. Paul, since he there changed ships;—which probably involved a short stay.

^g Martin. Crusius, Turc. Gr., vii. 506.

^h Theodoret, H. E. iv. 11.

ⁱ Acts xiv. 25.

PISIDIA : Metropolis, ANTIOCH of PISIDIA.

Of the foundation of this Church by S. Paul and S. Barnabas we read in the thirteenth chapter of the Acts. It does not seem to have possessed Metropolitan rights at a very early period, as in the time of S. Basil it appears to have been subject to the Bishop of Iconium. It still retains its dignity. S. Macarius^{*}, who lived in the eleventh century, and after having visited the Holy Sepulchre, came into Europe, and died at Ghent, is one of the last of the Oriental Bishops who is counted by the Latin Church among the Saints.

LYCAONIA : Metropolis, ICONIUM.

This also, as is known by all, was a Church of Apostolic foundation. As late as the reign of Valens, the Bishop of Iconium administered the three Churches of Lycaonia, Pisidia, and Pamphylia¹: if not by right of the See, at least by tacit permission in the dangerous times of Arianism. Iconium is illustrious for being the birth-place of S. Thecla, the Virgin Protomartyr. The two earliest Prelates were, according to Greek tradition, Sosipater, whom S. Paul reckons among his kinsmen, and Tertius^m, his amanuensis for the Epistle to the Romans; but this is doubtful. S. Amphilochius of Iconium, the friend of S. Basil, is the most renowned among the Prelates who have filled the See. Iconium was taken in the eleventh century by the Saracens, but still exists under the name of Koniah: the Metropolitan resides at Constantinople, where, as is the case with the other titular Prelates, he was generally the head of some monastery, till the capture of the Imperial City.

Smyrna, formerly Protothronus of Ephesus, but in the ninth century made a Metropolis with five suffragans, is by far the most important modern church in Asia Minor.

* Vit. SS. Bolland. April 9.

¹ S. Basil, Ep. 8, 393, 406.

^m So the older *Mensæ*, for June 21: Martyrology.

but the more modern ones give the name Terentius: as in the Roman

It has 40,000 orthodox inhabitants, and seven churches :

S. PHOTINA, the Cathedral, ruined in 1689, in the great earthquake.

S. JOHN THE DIVINE.

S. GEORGE.

S. DEMETRIUS.

S. JOHN BAPTIST.

S. CARLAMPPIUS.

S. ELIAS, just built.

S. Dionysius of Smyrna, a Martyr in 1763, has just been added by the Eastern Church to the Catalogue of Saints.

DIOCESE OF THRACE.—HERACLEA, EXARCHY.

We come next to speak of the Thracian Diocese. Less is known of it than of almost any other, partly from the want of early documents, partly because, after the Council of Chalcedon, it became the home Diocese, so to speak, of the Byzantine Patriarch, and its ancient rights and divisions were obliterated in the new arrangement. When Thrace was first made an Ecclesiastical Diocese is not certain : but the governing See at the earliest period would seem to have been Philippopolis^a. And indeed there is scarcely a mention of Heraclea, or as it was also called, Perinthus, in the earliest ages of the Empire. We have already traced the steps by which Byzantium, at one time a mere suffragan of Heraclea, was freed from that subjection by the first Council of Constantinople, and by that of Chalcedon put in possession of the exarchal right of the Thracian Diocese. It would seem, however, that those rights were less absolute, and more of a merely honorary character, than were those of Cæsarea and Ephesus over the Pontic and Asian Dioceses. The Bishop of Heraclea was then gratified by the title of *First of the Most Illustrious and Exarch of all Thrace and Macedonia*. He still retained the dignity of Metropolitan over the province of 'Europe : ' and, except when forced to yield to the pretensions of Alexandria, consecrated, and still does consecrate, the Patriarch of Constantinople. If he is unable to execute that office, it falls to the Metropolitan of Cæsarea, as Protothronus of the Œcumenical Patriarch, and if he be also

^a See Amnian. Marcellin., xvii. 33.

unable, the See of Ancyra claims the power : for Ancyra, as we have seen, was Protothronus of the Exarch of Pontus. One instance of this occurred in 1477, when Raphael was elevated to the Chair of Constantinople. But Heraclea guarded its rights with great jealousy : for in the year 956, when Polycrates was consecrated Byzantine Patriarch by Basil of Cæsarea, the Metropolitan of Heraclea being capable of performing the rite, it was noted as a grievous breach of the Canons^o. The Church was planted here by S. Paul ;—and there is good reason for believing that it was also visited by S. Andrew. The obscure legends respecting the labours of S. Stachys at Heraclea, and concerning “Apelles approved in CHRIST,” who is by some reputed to have been its first Bishop, are, to say the least, extremely doubtful. The origin of the name Heraclea is unknown ; it has been supposed to have arisen from Maximian Herculus. The city long continued to be called *Heraclea Perinthis*. The province of Europe, which the Metropolitan of Heraclea administered, was large and important.

THRACE : Metropolis, PHILIPPOLIS.

Philippopolis, called also Poneropolis and Trimontium, when it ceased to be head of the Diocese, retained Metropolitan rights over Thrace. Its Bishop takes the title of *Most Illustrious and Exarch of all Europe and Dragobintia* : Dragobintia being another name for Thrace^p. Hermas, saluted by S. Paul^q among his Roman friends, is said, but on very doubtful authority, to have been first Bishop^r. Philippopolis is celebrated in Ecclesiastical History for the Pseudo-Synod held there in opposition to the Council of Sardica.

HÆMIMONTUS : Metropolis, HADRIANOPLE.

This province was an institution of Theodosius ; and neither of it nor of its Metropolis has any thing remarkable been recorded. Hadrianople, originally Orestias, then Us-cudama, and now Maritza, is a place of considerable eccle-

^o Cedrenus, p. 688.

^p Crusius Turc. Gr., p. 485.

^q Rom. xvi. 14.

^r Bolland. Mar. 9.

^s Turc. Gr., p. 336.

siastical importance in the present state of the Oriental Church, and has a resident Metropolitan.

RHODOPE: Metropolis, TRAJANOPOLIS.

This province also is of little note. Trajanopolis, erected by Trajan in honour of a man of worth and eminence, and bearing the same name, whom he had unjustly deprived of his eyes[†], has long been in ruins, and its Metropolitan rights are transferred to the neighbouring city of Maronea.

MÆSIA INFERIOR: Metropolis, MARCIANOPOLIS, NOW SHUMLA.

In this province the Greek and Latin languages were used indiscriminately: and there was a considerable connexion between the Prelates and the See of Rome. It suffered severely from the incursions of the Bulgarians, and was finally taken possession of by them. Basil II., surnamed the Bulgaricide, compelled them to confine themselves to it, and it gradually acquired the name of Bulgaria. At the same time Marcianopolis lost its metropolitan rights, though it still continued a See; and Debeltus or Zagara became the Metropolis of the province. In the year 1186 the Bulgarians, who had been little more than the nominal subjects of Constantinople, cast off the yoke of the feeble Isaac Comnenus; and to render themselves more completely free, Joannicius, Prince of Bulgaria, applied to Innocent III. for a Metropolitan, and for license to remove the See of the Primate to Ternobium, the Royal residence. The Pontiff granted his request, and divided the kingdom into two provinces, Ternobium and Zagara; and the Bulgarians were thus removed from the obedience of the Eastern Church. But when Constantinople was in the power of the Latins, their princes began to feel more apprehension from Rome than from Nicæa; and the Metropolitan of Ternobium made application to Germanus, then Œcumenical Patriarch, to receive him again into Communion. This accordingly took place: all the privileges granted to Ternobium by Innocent III. were confirmed, and the Metropolitan was even permitted to call himself Patriarch; a license of which he

[†] Joan. Curop. in Michael. Duc.

does not seem to have availed himself. Thus, till the destruction of the Bulgarian kingdom, Ternobium was a place of considerable importance: and in a very great measure, independent on Constantinople. It is still a Metropolis, under the name of Ternova^a: but Shumla, the ancient Marcianopolis, is now again the Metropolitan See of Bulgaria.

SCYTHIA: Metropolis, TOMI.

This See, which has long since disappeared, is properly only Archiepiscopal, not Metropolitan, as it possessed no suffragans. We find no mention of it after the sixth century.

WALLACHIA: Metropolis, formerly TERGOWITZ: now BUCKHOREST.

This province, at the time of the Council of Chalcedon, was entirely barbarous; and so it remained for many centuries. It received the Faith at the same time with the Bulgarians, and was subjected, in turn, to several of the neighbouring Metropoles. Towards the year 1370, an attempt was made by Ladislaus, Prince of Wallachia, to bring his country into Communion with the See of Rome; and several letters passed between him and Urban VI. on the subject. But the attempt was unsuccessful; and perhaps the Patriarch of Constantinople gave a Metropolitan to Wallachia, for the purpose of preventing a similar proceeding. His seat was fixed at Tergowitz.

Mahomet II., on his conquest of Constantinople, so far respected the courage of the Wallachians, as to confer on them very considerable privileges, on condition of their nominal submission. No Turk was to be admitted, no mosque built, in Wallachia: the Voivode was to be elected by the Bishops and Boyars, and Mahometans, turned Christians, might dwell here in safety.

These privileges continued till 1711, when Constantine Bessarabba, the then Voivode, was deposed, and his place, till the late happy enfranchisement, was supplied by one of the Greeks of the Fanar, nominated by the Porte.

^a Walsh, Journey from Constantinople, p. 198.

Tergowitz continued the Metropolis till the rapid rise of Bukhorest, at the end of the seventeenth century. That city now contains 80,000 inhabitants, and 360 churches or oratories; the Metropolitan is appointed by the Voivode*.

As connected with Wallachia, it seems proper to say a few words on the position of the Eastern Church in the Austrian Empire. It has here three strongholds.

1. The Wallacks in Hungary, who, to a man, are orthodox Greeks. Such is their hatred of the Uniates, that the inhabitants of many parishes where an Uniat Priest has been intruded, sooner than receive the Sacraments at his hands, have passed through life without them. They are under the spiritual authority of the Archbishop of Carlowitz, and have a College in that city, together with large Schools at Neusatz, Miscoletz, and Temeswar, as well as some 1500 elementary schools*. The whole number of Wallacks is 850,000. There are also Greeks in Transylvania, though their faith is put on a par with that of the Jews, neither being recognised by the State, which tolerates all others. In Hungary there are, on the whole, 1,500,000 orthodox Eastern Christians; the number of Uniates is given by the Schematismus of 1835 at 552,000: but this is an exaggeration.

2. In the Province of Lvoff, wrested by Austria from Russia in 1772, are 719 Churches, and 7 Monasteries. These are under the Bishop, I believe†, of Lvoff.

3. Dalmatia never, properly speaking, belonged to the Eastern Church: forming a province in Western Illyricum under the Exarchy of Sirmium. There are, however, about 80,000 Greeks resident in that country:—and a Bishop, after having been stationed at Sebenico, has now fixed his See at Zara‡.

In the Austrian Buckovine, part of which was separated from Moldavia, there are several Greek Churches.

In the Austrian dominions, the orthodox Greeks are reckoned at about 2,800,000: the Uniates at 8,500,000.

* Walsh, *Journey from Constantinople*, p. 237 sq. Frankland, 37.

† Paget's *Hungary*, ii. 207.

‡ Transactions of the Russian Geo-

graphical Society, iii. 220. ap. Blackmore's notes to Mouravieff, p. 401.

§ Wilkinson's *Dalmatia*, i. 99.

**MOLDOBLACHIA (MOLDAVIA): Metropolis, formerly
SOTZOWA: NOW JASSY.**

This province was separated from that of Wallachia before the time of George Codinus. An attempt was made by Latzko, Prince of Moldavia, in the year 1170, to enter into Communion with the Roman See. Urban intrusted the negotiations to the Archbishop of Cracow, under whom it was brought to an apparently happy termination. But afterwards Moldoblachia returned to its old obedience; and for some time was subject to Tergowitz. It then had its own Metropolitan at Sotzaba, or Sotzowa: but on being made Ottoman^a, in 1574, Jassy became the capital, and since then the Metropolitan has resided here. Sotzowa is now almost a ruin, and is included in the Austrian Buckovine.

DIOCESE OF ILLYRICUM ORIENTALE.—THESSALONICA, EXARCHY.

That the Gospel was preached in Illyricum by S. Paul we learn from his own testimony^b, and that of S. Luke. On its division into Eastern and Western Illyricum, Thessalonica became the head of the former Diocese, and was so recognised in the time of Theodoret. It is certain that Illyricum Orientale was, from the earliest ages, ecclesiastically subject to Rome. Of this we have a clear proof in the celebrated Epistle of S. Clement to the Corinthians: and in the submission of the Eusebians, Ursacius and Valens, to Pope S. Julius. Socrates clearly asserts that Eastern Illyricum was a part of the West^c. Thessalonica, from Apostolic times, was the Ecclesiastical head of this Diocese; and the Roman Pontiffs, who were naturally desirous of retaining so important a tract of country, which embraced the whole of ancient Greece, were in the habit of appointing the Bishops of Thessalonica their own vicars. S. Damasus is said to have done so^d: S. Siricius, his successor, certainly did^e: and the

^a Neale's *Moldavia*, 159.

^b Rom. xv. 19.

^c H. E., ii. 22.

^d Ep. Nicol. Pap. I. ad Mich. Imp.

^e Siricii Ep. ad Anya. Thessalon.

case was the same with S. Innocent I. and S. Anastasius I. On the accession of Boniface to the Chair of S. Peter, he followed in the steps of his predecessors; but he was not long before an opposition arose in Greece to his prerogative. The disputed election of Perigenes to the Metropolitan See of Corinth, which Boniface approved, gave occasion to the discontented party to appeal to Atticus of Constantinople: and he, as we have seen, obtained from Theodosius the Younger a rescript bearing date July 14, 421, by which the jurisdiction of Illyricum was adjudged to Constantinople. This law was shortly after abrogated on the remonstrance of Honorius, whom the Pope had requested to interfere; and under Popes S. Celestine and S. Sixtus the old arrangement continued. A friendly letter addressed by the latter on this subject to S. Proclus of Constantinople still exists. S. Leo the Great confirmed and amplified the privileges of the See of Thessalonica: he had the right of convoking Synods, of ordaining Metropolitans, and of giving his veto to the consecration of an ordinary Prelate: in fact he had full Patriarchal authority, with the single difference that his power was only vicarial. The Council of Chalcedon, while it subjected to the Patriarch of Constantinople the Thracian, Pontic, and Asian Dioceses, gave him no authority over that of Illyricum. The first interruption to the ancient right of Thessalonica occurs in the time of the Emperor Zeno. Acacius of Constantinople having been separated from the Communion of the Roman See, for persisting to communicate with the opponents of the Council of Chalcedon, was followed by Andrew of Thessalonica, from whom the vicarial authority was consequently withdrawn by Felix III., though it seems to have been afterwards restored to his successor. The extent of the jurisdiction of Thessalonica was diminished by the erection of Justiniana into a Metropolis: but the part of Illyricum Orientale which still remained subject to its former Metropolitan, persevered in the Communion of Rome. Its subjugation to Constantinople was the work of Leo the Isaurian, in revenge for the opposition offered by Rome to his Iconoclastic principles. And for the same reason, Thessalonica, which had once disputed the fifth

place with Ephesus, and was occasionally dignified with the title of a Patriarchate, was degraded to a position among the inferior Metropolitans. Afterwards, however, when Andronicus Junior altered the disposition of the Sees, it obtained the eleventh place. At present the style of the Bishop is, *Entirely Holy, and Most Illustrious, and Exarch of all Thessaly*. Thessalonica had Metropolitan rights over Macedonia. In the modern city of Salonichi they profess to shew a wooden platform from which S. Paul preached^f.

THESSALY ; Metropolis, LARISSA.

Of this Metropolis we have no particular notice in Ecclesiastical History till the time of Constantine. In later ages the Metropolitan was usually the Patriarch's Vicar for the greater part of the Diocese of Illyricum, and more especially for Greece. Probably the See of Constantinople was willing to confer that honour on a city which, like Larissa, could not pretend to any extended jurisdiction of its own, rather than on Thessalonica, which might thereby be reminded of its ancient prerogatives.

EPIRUS, OLD and NEW ; Metropoles, NICOPOLIS and DYRRHACHIUM.

Epirus formed but one province, under the Metropolitan of Nicopolis, till the reign of Theodosius the Great. The Faith had been taught in that city by S. Paul, who wintered there. In the ninth century its Metropolitan rights were transferred to Naupactus; for what reason is uncertain. Dyrrhachium, anciently Epidamnus, and now Durazzo, did not obtain the Ecclesiastical rights of a Metropolis till a late age.

HELLAS ; Metropolis, CORINTH.

This is, of course, a province which will always possess an interest far higher than its mere ecclesiastical importance. Corinth was long the Metropolis; but, when Illyricum came into the power of Constantinople, the Patriarch appropriated to himself the greater part of the suffragans of that city. Corinth, at the beginning of the war of freedom, contained

^f Capt. Best's Albania, p. 208.

little more than five hundred inhabitants; and had only two Bishopricks, and those united, in its jurisdiction. Apollos is usually supposed to have been the first Bishop; Sosthenes and Silas have each claims to be considered the second; and Timon, one of the Seven, suffered here.

Athens, the most important city in the province, became an Archbishoprick under Photius, and shortly after received Metropolitan dignity and ten suffragans; Patræ and Lacedæmon were also advanced to the same honour. Other cities, as Thebes, obtained a similar dignity, but without suffragans.

Since the Greek revolution Athens has become the most important Metropolis of Greece. The Archbishop has almost unlimited authority over the persons of his Clergy; in Attica alone there are 4,000 churches and chapels^b.

CRETE: Metropolis, GORTYNA.

This also, as is known to all, was an Apostolic Church, and was governed, according to Oriental tradition, thirty-nine years by Titus. The city is now a heap of ruins, but the Metropolitan of Crete takes his title from it.

The present condition of the Church of Crete may be described as flourishing; the Christians far outnumber the Mahometans. It is under the government of a Metropolitan and eight Bishops.

PRÆVALIS: Metropolis, SCODRA.

This was a province entirely unknown to early writers, but recognised in the time of S. Gregory the Great¹. On the partial destruction of Scodra by the barbarians its Metropolitan rights were transferred to Dioclea; which afterwards coalesced with Antibari^k, and was for some time in the Roman Communion. Locally situated in this province was the Metropolis of Justiniana Prima, which Justinian, by one of his innumerable changes, constituted a new Diocese; as

¹ This seems to follow from 1 Cor. iii. 6. "I have planted, *Apollos* watered."

¹ S. Greg., lib. xii. Ep. 30, Constantino Scodritano.

^k Baronius, 1062. cxiv.

^b Hobhouse's Albania, ii. 520.

also the See of Achrida, the Episcopate of the Metropolitan of the Bulgarians. When these barbarians embraced Christianity, Pope Hadrian II. nominated one Silvester¹ as their Bishop. But the monarch preferred to ally himself to the Eastern Church, and S. Ignatius of Constantinople, by the authority of the eighth so called Œcumenical Synod, consecrated Gabriel Bishop of the Bulgarians. In process of time the See was fixed at the city of Achrida, which then assumed Archiepiscopal honours, and still continues to enjoy them; the Prelate styles himself *Archbishop of Prima Justiniana, Achrida, and All Bulgaria*. The celebrated Theophylact, the last of the Greek Fathers, held the See of Achrida at the end of the eleventh and beginning of the twelfth century.

The See of Scodra, now Scutari, has maintained a very curious existence². On the breaking up of the great Servian kingdom, its South-Western extremity, now called Montenegro, was enabled to preserve its independency, and to resist all the efforts of the Turks for its subjugation. It is still an independent state, under Russian protection; the population exceeds 100,000, and the extent of territory is about ninety square leagues. The form of government is a republic, under the presidency of the *Vladika*, or Bishop: the only example of a military Prelate now existing. The office is hereditary in the family of the Petrovich: and the member selected for it is consecrated at S. Petersburg. The military prowess of these Bishops has been the means of the preservation of the singular independence of this state.

DACIA MEDITERRANEA: Metropolis, SARDICA.

This was made a province by Aurelian, when he relinquished to the barbarians the Dacia of Trajan. Sardica is celebrated for little besides its great and almost Œcumenical Council. It is now, under the title of Sophia, the See of a Metropolitan, who has no suffragans.

¹ Vit. Hadr. II. a Guillelm. Bibliothec.

² See Sir Gardner Wilkinson's Tour in Dalmatia and Montenegro, chap. 6.

CHAPTER III.

THE OFFSHOOTS OF CONSTANTINOPLE:

RUSSIA ; GREECE ; GEORGIA ; ARMENIA ; SERVIA.

RUSSIA

UNDER THE PATRIARCHAL POWER OF THE HOLY GOVERNING SYNOD OF RUSSIA.

A TRADITION, which has lately been proved to have every appearance of truth*, reports that S. Andrew, preaching the Gospel in Scythia, penetrated the wildnesses of the desert as far as Kieff, and there uttered a prophecy that on those hills the grace of God should shine forth. However this may be, centuries elapsed before any real progress was made in the conversion of Russia. Though as early as 891 we find a nominal Metropolitan of that country subject to Constantinople, it was not till the conversion of the Great Prince Vladimir in 992, that Russia was illuminated; and then its reception of the Gospel was almost instantaneous.

The early Metropolitans fixed their seat at Kieff, while the light of the Gospel extended itself gradually to the remotest corners of Russia. Well for it, even as a State, that it thus embraced Christianity! During the terrible invasion of the Tartars, which burst over it at the beginning of the thirteenth century, and which continued to oppress it for 200 years, nothing but the uniting power of the Church held this great empire from falling to pieces. The Metropolitans, leaving the ruins of Kieff, fixed their seat at Vladimir, and in spite of Mongolian oppression, and civil feuds of the innumerable princes, the people that had but one Church felt themselves to be but one nation. S. Peter, the twenty-fifth Metropolitan, in 1320 removed the See to Moscow.

The liberation of Russia from the Tartars, and the overthrow of Constantinople by the Turks, made the inconvenience of a partial subjection to the Œcumenical See more manifest. The Tsar was the natural and mortal enemy of the Sultan; yet the Metropolitan of Russia could not be consecrated without the consent of the Porte. In 1582,

* I allude to "The History of Christianity in Russia before S. Vladimir," by the Archimandrite Macarius, S. Petersburg, 1846. My acquaintance

with this book is one of the many obligations which I owe to the Rev. Eugene Popoff.

Jeremiah, then Patriarch of Constantinople, somewhat irregularly, of his own authority, raised Job, forty-sixth Metropolitan of Russia, to the Patriarchal dignity; a proceeding, however, for which he afterwards obtained the confirmation of a General Council of the East.

Thenceforward ten Patriarchs sat at Moscow, possessed of immense and almost unparalleled power. The Tsar Peter, however, disapproved of this power, and determined on another arrangement. To this end, on the decease of the Patriarch Adrian, in 1701, he forbade the appointment of a successor under the same title, but nominated Stephen Yavorsky, a great name among Russian divines, guardian of the Patriarchate. And finally, in 1721, he established a Holy Governing Synod, to supply the place of the Patriarch.

This Synod was recognised by Jeremiah of Constantinople, which, under the circumstances, was only to be expected. It consists of five or six Bishops, one or two other Ecclesiastics of dignity, and several laymen as officials, all appointed by the Emperor. Yet, especially of late years, its representations have often modified state-arrangements; a memorable instance of which occurred in the withdrawal of an Oukaz of 1831, by which monks and nuns, who had professed under the legal age, forty, were ordered to return to the secular life.

We must now speak of the Unia. In 1590, when Poland had a political importance far superior to that of Russia, two dissolute Russian Prelates, Cyril Tirletsky, and Hypatius Potsi, conceived the idea of joining the Communion of Rome, while retaining their national rite. The agreement was soon made; temporal advantages were held out to the *Uniat* Greeks: no change was at first enforced; the marriage of the secular clergy was allowed; the *Filioque* was excluded from the Creed. Gradually alterations took place; the ancient Liturgies were mutilated; horrible atrocities were perpetrated against the orthodox; their churches were farmed out to Jews; many priests were baked or roasted alive, or torn to pieces with iron instruments.

So Rome raised the Unia: and it continued for nearly 250 years. But, at the first partition of Poland, when the ancient Russian territory reverted to the sceptre of Catherine II., between two and three millions of the Uniates, having

liberty to follow the dictates of their conscience, returned to the Eastern Church. And, in 1839, after a brief negotiation, the remaining Russian Uniats, in number two millions, with their three Bishops, Joseph of Lithuania, Antony of White Russia, Vasili of Brzesc, were received into the unity of the Eastern Church; and a solemn act of communion was performed at Vitebsk on the 14th of May. The only act of profession required was, "that our Lord JESUS CHRIST is the One True Head of the One True Church," and the Holy Governing Synod, with a most wise and Christian forbearance, recommended "that an Apostolical indulgence should be exhibited to local peculiarities, not affecting the Sacraments or the Faith." The union was ratified by the Emperor on the 25th of March, in the words, "I thank God, and accept it." And how great a blow this was felt to be by the Roman Church, may be seen by the Allocation of Gregory XVI. to the Consistory of Nov. 22, 1839^b.

Siberia, which promises to become an important part of Russia, has gradually been colonized by her since the foundation of Tioumen in 1586. Of the incorporation of the Georgian Church I shall speak presently.

Russia is brought into contact with Lutheranism in Esthonia and Finland, Paganism in the Caucasus and Armenia, Buddhism in Mongolia, Mahometanism through her whole southern frontier. Conversions from these are very numerous. Thus there were converted from

	in 1839.	in 1846.
Russian schismatics	19,833.	11,049.
Heathens	2,601.	} . . 4,609.
Jews	351.	
Mahometans	441.	
Lutherans,	378.	17,748.
besides of the Latin Church	2,120.	3,249.

At present the greatest progress is made on the side of Esthonia and Livonia.

There are about 43,000 churches, 34,000 Priests, and 16,000 Deacons, in the Russian dominions, exclusive of

^b Given by Theiner, in his *Neuesten Zustände der Katholischen Kirche in Polen und Russland*, p. 425.

Georgia; there are 435 monasteries, and 113 convents; and these are under the control of about 60 Bishops.

The parish clergy of Russia never possessed tithes. Their income arises from Easter offerings, fees, and glebe: the minimum of the latter being $181\frac{1}{2}$ acres to each Church. Church property was, to a great extent, put in commission by Peter I., for the benefit of the Church: and it thus remained till Catherine II. confiscated its larger portion, retaining part for herself, and distributing part among her nobles. The present Emperor has nobly formed a fund of the Church property which now belongs to the crown, with which he has already endowed about twelve of the poorest Dioceses, and intends to proceed in the same holy work, as the revenues accumulate.

With respect to the election of Bishops, it is understood that the Holy Synod nominate three to the Emperor, who chooses one from them, and that if the feeling of the Synod be strongly in favour of any one candidate, that candidate is appointed.

From the above account it may appear how utterly false is the modern notion, so industriously circulated by Roman Catholics, that in Russia the Church is the mere creature of the State; whereas probably, at the present moment, it enjoys more freedom in that empire than any where else in the world.

MODERN KINGDOM OF GREECE

UNDER ITS OWN HOLY GOVERNING SYNOD.

The ecclesiastical condition of Greece, in the period immediately antecedent to the war of freedom, differed very much from the notitia which we shall give in the next chapter.

There were twenty Metropolitans:

IN PELOPONNESUS,

CORINTH,

MONEMBASIA,

LACEDÆMON,

OLD PATRÆ,

TRIPOLIZZA,

NAUPLIA,

RHEONTAS AND PRASTOS,

GASTAUNI (OLENOS)

CHRISTIANOPOLIS,

DIMIZZANA.

IN THE MAINLAND,

ATHENS,

THERES,

LEPANTO,

NEW PATRÆ.

IN THE ISLANDS,
NEGROPONT,
ÆGINA,
ANDROS,

CEA,
SIPHNOS,
PARONAXIA.

Two Archbishopricks:—

TINOS.

SANTORINA.

Nineteen Bishopricks.

IN PELOPONNESUS,
DAMALA,
ANDROUSSE,
THERNATA,
ELOS,
MAINA,
BRESTENE,
MODON,
CORON,
THERNIZZA,
AKOVA.

IN THE MAINLAND,
TALANTI,
SALONA,
POUDOUNIZZA,
CIDORIKI,
ZEITOUNI,
ARTA,

IN THE ISLANDS,
SCYROS,
CARTSTUS,
SCOPELUS^b.

The war of freedom was, in its outset, a war of religion also: and the Martyrdom of the holy Patriarch of Constantinople, S. Gregory, occasioned by the revolt, incited the insurgents to fury. But the succeeding Patriarch found himself in a false position. Sympathizing with the movement, he was compelled by the State to anathematize it; and thus the Church of Greece was, on the one hand, led to regard her Patriarch as the tool of her enemies; and, on the other, was herself regarded by the provisional government with suspicion and dislike. When the freedom of Greece was established by the treaty of London, a fruitless negotiation took place between Capodistria and Tricoupi on the one hand, and the Ecumenical Throne on the other:—and by an official communication dated ^{May 28} _{June 9}, 1828, the government absolutely declined to treat with the Patriarch on the old terms.

The Church was rent in pieces by schism. There were *Canonical* Bishops, i. e., those consecrated by the Patriarch under the old regime, to the number of twenty-two; *uncanonical* Bishops, i. e., Prelates consecrated during the war of freedom, without the license of Constantinople, twelve in number; and besides these, about twenty ex-Bishops, de-

^b This list is from Schmitt's *Kritische Geschichte der Neu-Griechischen und der Russischen Kirche*, p. 106.

prived of their Sees by the troubles of the times, and who now clamoured loudly for place and maintenance.

On the 17 July, 1833, a national Synod met at Nauplia, then the seat of government, to devise some plan for the regeneration of the Greek Church. It must be confessed that this body was uncanonically assembled; owning no higher convocation than Tricoupi, Minister of Worship, and Schinas, of Education.

The two following propositions were presented to it, and, in a free and private deliberation, (members of the government having withdrawn,) approved by 36 Prelates:—

1. The Eastern, orthodox and Apostolic Church of Greece, which spiritually owns no Head, but the Head of the Christian Faith, JESUS CHRIST our LORD, is dependent on no external authority: while she preserves unshaken dogmatic unity with all the Eastern orthodox Churches. With respect to the administration of the Church, which pertains to the crown, she acknowledges the King of Greece as her Supreme Head, as is in nothing contrary to the Holy Canons.

2. A permanent Synod shall be established, consisting entirely of Archbishops and Bishops, appointed by the King: to be the highest Ecclesiastical authority, after the model of the Russian Church.

The divisions of the Dioceses of the kingdom followed next. Their number was definitively fixed at ten, and it was ordered that each Province should constitute a Diocese, which should bear the name of the Province, and that the city which was the principal seat of the Bishoprick, should be the capital of the Province. Since however by degrees fifty-three Greek Bishops came forward who all needed some provision, forty provisional Sees were erected, for such of them who were still able to superintend a Diocese; the remainder were provided for in some other manner. The names of the definitive Sees were as follows: the provisional Bishopricks we have not thought it worth while to insert.

CORINTH AND ARGOLIS	See, CORINTH.
ACHAIA AND ELIS . . . .	. PATRÆ.
MESSENIA . . . .	. CYPARISSIA.
ARCADIA . . . .	. MANTINEÆ.

LACONIA	SPARTA.
ACARNANIA AND ÆTOLIA	MISSOLONGHI.
PHOCIS AND LOCRIIS	AMPHISSA.
ATTICA AND BÆOTIA	ATHENS.
EUBŒA	CHALCIS.
THE CYCLADES	HERMOPOLIS.

‘It was further arranged that in case of the vacancy of any of these provisional Sees, it should not be filled up, but the See should be united to the permanent Diocese of the Province, whose Bishop had his seat in its capital, but this arrangement has not altogether been carried out. The Synod is composed of a President, four members, who must be Bishops, a Secretary, a Royal Commissioner, and supernumerary members.

GEORGIA, GRUZIA, IBERIA,

UNDER THE EXARCHAL POWER OF THE ARCHBISHOP OF TIFLIS:
BUT, MEDIATELY, UNDER THE HOLY GOVERNING SYNOD OF
ALL THE RUSSIAS.

[The accounts of this Province, in the more usual ecclesiastical notitiæ, are deplorably inaccurate and ignorant. For the following notice, I am indebted to the Church History of Georgia, published by M. Plato Josiliani, at S. Petersburg, 1843, with a MS. translation of which I have been favoured by the Rev. R. W. Blackmore.]

THE Apostle S. Andrew^d is said to have planted the Church in Georgia: but a long and cruel persecution, commenced by King Aderkhi, almost obliterated every trace of the Gospel; though the more savage features of pagan worship, such as the sacrifice of children, did not again prevail. S. Clement of Rome, banished by Trajan into Iberia, produced many conversions by his miracles and martyrdom: but the honour of illuminating Georgia was reserved for S. Nina^e, whether, as Eusebius relates, a captive, or, as Georgian annalists, a simple missionary. S. Eustathius^f of Antioch confirmed the faith thus preached;

^e See Schmitt, pp. 178—218: and Strong’s Greece as a Kingdom, pp. 344—367.

^d Nicephorus, ii. 39; viii. 6.

^e Nina is probably a name of rank, and perhaps has connexion with our *nen*.

S. Jerom. (de Cust. Virg. ad S. Eustoch.), *Castæ vocantur, et nonnæ*. Compare also the name of S. Gregory’s mother; and Redigius, v. 12. S. Nina is also called S. Nonna.

^f This fact is not mentioned by any

and King Miriam shewed himself a zealous propagator of the Gospel. During his reign, and that of his son and grandson, the Church steadily increased, in spite of the invasions of the Persians, incited as well by lust of conquest as by hatred of the Gospel.

Notwithstanding the apostacy of King Miridates II., the Arian preaching of Mobedach, and the repeated revolts of the Caucasians, under Vachtang I., (446—499,) the Georgian Church was established on a firm basis; by the consent of Constantinople, (to which Patriarchate, by steps which history cannot clearly trace, the allegiance of Georgia had been transferred from Antioch,) the Archbishop Peter assumed the title of Catholicos of Mtskétha and all Georgia, and had 37 suffragans assigned to his jurisdiction.

The mission of 13 Syrian ascetics, about A.D. 540*, is an event of great note in the annals of Georgia, and infused new life into the Church. The reconversion of the Lazi and Abkhasians, who had been forced into temporary apostacy by the Caucasians, was the first-fruits of this increase of vigour.

During these centuries the invasions of the Persians made fearful havoc among the Iberian Christians, but none so much as that of Kabad. Peace, however, was restored after these troubles; nor did the Mahometan Caliphs occasion much devastation till Mirvan, the last Prince of the house of Ommiyah, led his hordes into that country. The condition of Georgia was now (750) deplorable: Abkhasia obtained a separate Catholicos; the Armenians endeavoured to propagate Monophysitism: the Mahometan forces overran the country. A countless host of martyrs, however, contended for the Faith; among whom S. Susanna, the wife of the governor of Ran, is the most illustrious. The Church made gigantic efforts; and finally succeeded in maintaining its ground.

When the warriors of the First Crusade poured into Asia, Georgia sent forth an armament to their assistance. It perished, indeed, in the waves of the Black Sea: but a

Greek writer: but is attested by Georgian traditions, and rendered likely by the early dependency of Georgia on Antioch: and even now the Patriarch

of Antioch terms himself Patriarch of Iberia.

* Some Georgian writers place this event in A.D. 440.

second was more successful, and shared the peril and glory of the capture of Jerusalem.

In 1089, it pleased God to raise up the illustrious monarch, S. David III., for the relief of His Church in Georgia. He all but reduced the Armenians to orthodoxy in the Council of Ani: he founded churches, monasteries, schools^h, he promoted the translation of works from Greek into Georgian, principally undertaken by the monks of the Georgian house in the Holy Mountain, nor when, full of years and glory, he changed a corruptible for an incorruptible crown, did the effects of his labours cease. Queen Tamar's reign (1174—1204) is considered the golden age of Georgian literature; nor did she confine her attention to learning. She is said to have maintained an army of 300,000 men, and twice routed the Turks in pitched battles. She was worthily followed by her successor, George VII., surnamed, from his deeds, the *Morning Star*.

The invasion of Zengis Khan well nigh ruined the Georgian Church: yet innumerable Martyrs and Confessors glorified God. While still suffering from that irruption, Georgia was assailed by the Envoys of Rome; though rejected by Queen Bussudan, they gradually obtained a footing, and finally received permission to found a Bishoprick at Tiflis. After the invasion of Tamerlane, Alexander was raised up to be the restorer of his people: he never collected tribute from his subjects, but lived on the labour of his hands: and he is celebrated as the rebuilder of the Cathedral of Mtsakétha. He, before his death, divided Georgia into three kingdoms, Cachetia, Kartalania, and Imeretia.

In 1490, the influence of the kings of Georgia must have been considerable; for we find the Greeks of the neighbouring parts of Asia Minor applying to them for a Bishop. His See was fixed at Achthal, a few leagues south of Tiflis, and existed till 1827.

In 1587, Alexander II., harassed by the invasions of Shah Abbas, made himself a tributary of Russia; but it was not till 1604, when the pious Tsar Theodore Ivanovitch reigned at

^h M. Jossilian lately discovered, in the archives of Mtsakétha, the acts of a Council holden under David.

Moscow, that any real assistance was rendered to Georgia. In the mean time, the martyrdoms under the inhuman rule of the monster Shah Abbas, whom infidel historians have dignified with the title of 'the Great,' increased. Among the martyrs we find, George, King of Kartalania, poisoned, 1629; Simeon, also King of Kartalania, strangled in the presence of Shah Abbas; but above all, Keteban, Queen of Cachetia, tortured to death; the missionary Augustinians were witnesses of the laceration and triumphs of this divine heroine¹: to whom may be added, Eudæmon, Catholicos of Mtskétha.

After the death of Shah Abbas, Georgia suffered greatly from the wars of Turks and Persians; till, at length, in 1701, Vachtang VI. ascended the throne. He restored entirely, though temporarily, the power of the Georgian empire: but was, in 1714, compelled to abdicate; and had for his successor the Mahometan Apostate Jesse. During the eighteenth century Georgia suffered alternately from Turks and Persians; above all from Nadir Shah.

The efforts of the Roman Missionaries were indefatigable, and exercised considerable influence over the Sovereign and several Bishops. The Catholicos Antony vigorously opposed the innovators; for which, in 1755, he was deposed in a National Council. He fled to Russia, and presented his confession of Faith to the Holy Governing Synod, by whom it was declared orthodox; on which he was promoted to the then vacant See of Vladimir. He afterwards returned to his own country, and became a zealous defender of the Oriental Faith.

In 1783, under Heraclius II., the ties between Russia and Georgia were drawn still closer: the Catholicos of Mtskétha became a member of the Holy Governing Synod, and lost his power, though retaining the title till 1811.

In 1795, the Persian armies, under Mahomet Khan, for the last time overran Georgia. Tiflis fell a prey to them; the most horrible atrocities were committed; and the Catholicos S. Dositheus fell a martyr before the icon of the Pan-

¹ The account of S. Keteban's martyrdom was published in Georgian by the Asiatic Society of France. Paris, 1833.

aghia. This induced the last monarch, George XIII., to recommend the annexation of Georgia to Russia; which took place in 1801.

Of the present arrangement of the Georgian Church, under the Archbishop of Tiflis, I shall speak in the Notitia.

[The following account may be regarded as semi-official: being taken from the report of the Russian Minister of the Interior, 1843: a translation of which has been lent me by the Rev. R. W. Blackmore.]

ARMENIA

UNDER THE PATRIARCH CATHOLICOS OF ETCHMIADZINE.

THE Armenian Church and nation present at this time one of the most singular spectacles in the history of the world. A people, having their origin in the country that encircles Mount Ararat, the second cradle of the human race, have spread themselves over the greater part of Asia, have, in many important cities, almost monopolised commerce, have nevertheless kept themselves distinct from the nations by whom they are surrounded, have held their faith equally firm against the enticements of Mahometanism, and the persuasions of the Orthodox Eastern Church; and though infected by heresy for more than 1,300 years, have not only maintained, but extended, their Sees and their succession of Prelates, and at this time, in numbers, in intelligence, and in wealth, constitute by far the most important Christian Communion of the East excepting the Russian.

Passing by the letter addressed by our SAVIOUR to Abgarus king of Edessa, as probably fabulous, and the labours of SS. Bartholomew, Jude, and Thaddæus, as uncertain, I shall observe that the Church was planted in Armenia by S. Gregory, surnamed *Lousaforich*, or 'the Illuminator,' towards the end of the third century. At this time the house of the Arsacidæ, (by whom the kingdom of Armenia was founded

B.C. 250,) had been dispossessed by Ardshir, founder of the Persian house of the Sassanidæ. Dertad, or Tiridates, son of the murdered monarch, sought refuge in Rome; his relative Gregory at Cæsarea in Cappadocia, where he was converted to the Faith of CHRIST. Providence brought back these youths to their own land, the one to reassert her independence, the other to enlighten her. The persecutions that S. Gregory endured were various; in particular, he was confined in a dungeon for thirteen years, till the heart of his persecutor was touched, and the Confessor was openly allowed to proclaim the Gospel through Armenia. He was consecrated Bishop by S. Leontius of Cæsarea, one of the CCCXVIII, in A.D. 302; and shortly afterwards erected the Primatial Church of All Armenia at Vagarshabad, under the title of Etchmiadzine, "the Descent of the Only Begotten:" a vision of our LORD having been seen by the Illuminator on that spot.

The successors of S. Gregory were his sons and grandsons, who are commemorated by the Armenians among the Saints. They still remained subject to the See of Cæsarea, as it would appear, till the time of S. Isaac, surnamed the Great. This Prelate, during his long primacy of fifty years (A.D. 390—440) in conjunction with S. Mesrob, surnamed the Commentator, invented a written character for the Armenian language, and translated the whole of the Holy Scriptures: the version is still extant and highly prized. At this time, the house of the Arsacidæ was tottering to its downfall; at one period (419—422) Isaac himself was compelled to assume the reins of government; but the Persian Sassanidæ finally prevailed; and the last years of the Primate's life (428—439) were spent in exile. The Persian Sovereigns thenceforward forbade their Prelates to repair to Cæsarea for ordination.

A bloody persecution ensued; and, in consequence, the Primatial Chair was removed (A.D. 441) from Etchmiadzine to Tovin. This persecution prevented any Armenian Bishop from being present at the Council of Chalcedon: false reports were consequently circulated respecting it; and finally, the National Council of Vagarshabad, under the Patriarch Papgen, rejected it. On the resolution of Georgia,—till

that time ecclesiastically connected with Armenia,—to forsake it for the unity of the Catholic Church, the heresy of the Armenians was confirmed by the Synod of Tovin.

After the irruption of the hordes of Mahomet, Armenia enjoyed peace, as a separate kingdom, under the house of the Bagratidæ. But the domestic dissensions of that family obliged the Patriarch, Johannes I., to migrate to the monastery of Dzovoi Vank, in the Province of Vaspouracan; and his successor, Stephen II., removed the Primatial See to that of Akhtamar, an island in the Lake Van. During the eleventh century, the Patriarchal seat was fixed and refixed in a variety of places: sometimes in the dominions of the Emperor, sometimes in that of the King. In 1100, there were four Patriarchs, all professing themselves Catholics of Armenia; but finally, when the true Patriarch settled himself first at Shgur-Anabad, then at Sis in Cilicia, Akhtamar asserted its rival claims, and an Anti-Patriarch seated himself there.

At length, when in 1441 the Patriarchs returned to Etchmiadzine, the See of Sis raised another Anti-Patriarch. Both schisms, however, were happily composed, that of Akhtamar, in 1294; that of Sis, in 1651. The Prelates were allowed to retain the title of Patriarch: and to govern a few Bishops: Etchmiadzine being the virtual head of the Church.

On the subjection of Armenia to the Osmanli Turks, frightful disorders ensued. All kind of crimes prevailed; simony was practised to an awful extent. At the same time the Roman Church was making great progress: nor can we accuse it here of unwarrantable interference, as no Orthodox Communion existed in the country. At the same time, the manner of the attempt was too often bad; and the way in which the ancient Calendar and Liturgy were tampered with has been exposed by modern Ritualists.

At length, to such a pitch of corruption did the Church arrive, that David V., who had purchased the See of Etchmiadzine in 1586, finding himself unable to pay the stipulated sum, associated two other Bishops with himself in the emoluments and expenses of the office. They, as it was natural to expect, quarrelled; and the successful competitor loaded the

Armenian Clergy with imposts to enable him to fulfil his engagements. Armenia of course suffered, lying on the borders of Persia and Turkey, in the contests between those two nations: and reached her lowest pitch of degradation under Lazarus, who is described as a monster of iniquity, and who filled the throne of Etchmiadzine from 1737—1751.

In the eighteenth century Russia first interfered for the protection of the Armenians; and thenceforth their condition began to improve. Catherine II., in 1766, even granted the Catholic Simeon letters of protection. By the treaty of 1828, Etchmiadzine became a part of the Russian Empire. Ephraem was then Catholicos: ill health rendered him desirous of resigning his situation; and in 1832, Johannes, Archbishop of Tiflis, was elected his successor by the Bishops resident in the monastery of Etchmiadzine. By an Oukaz of 1836, the Armenian Church was recognised by the state: and, at the decease of Johannes (Mar. 7, 1842) the Emperor gave orders that the ensuing election should be as free and canonical as possible. The Synod of Etchmiadzine summoned deputies from all parts of Armenia and its scattered Dioceses to the Primatial Monastery, for the week after Easter, 1843. The constitution of the Council was as follows: four Archbishops and four Archimandrites of the Synod of Etchmiadzine: one Archbishop and six Bishops of the Brethren of the Monastery: and the deputies of the Dioceses. On the 17th of April, his Holiness Narcissus, Archbishop of Nakhichevan and Bessarabia was chosen, by a majority of twenty-six to seventeen in favour of Zechariah, Armenian Patriarch of Jerusalem.

The English reader may be interested with two anecdotes of this personage. He was resident in Persia at a time when no English Chaplain existed in that country. It thus happened that he was occasionally called to administer the consolations of religion to our countrymen on their death-beds. He was always willing to give them the Holy Communion, on receiving a satisfactory answer to two questions. 1. As to their belief in the TRINITY. 2. As to their acknowledgment that the Body and Blood of our LORD are received in that Sacrament.

When at S. Petersburg, to receive the Imperial Confirmation, he learnt from an English newspaper that an Armenian congregation in the north of India, having been long without a Priest, had flocked with great avidity to the ministrations of an English Chaplain in attendance on the forces employed in Affghanistan. The Catholicos instantly gave orders for the despatch of a Priest to that neglected town.

Armenia has always been honourably distinguished for the interest the Church has taken in education. A distinct order of the hierarchy has indeed been set apart for that purpose: its members are known by the name of *Vartabeds*. They rank between a Bishop and a Priest; and assume nearly the same power that the Sorbonne exercised in the palmy days of the Gallican Church.

An Union has often been proposed between the Armenian and Orthodox Eastern Communions. It was nearly accomplished in 1799, when the Prince Argoutinsky Dolgorouky, Archbishop of all the Russian Armenians, published a Confession of Faith with a Commentary, for the purpose of shewing that the sentiments of the two Churches were not so widely opposed. And on the accession of the present Patriarch, another similar attempt was made. Probably it will take place at no very remote period; and will incredibly strengthen the influence of the Orthodox Church in the far East.

SERVIA

UNDER THE AUTOCEPHALOUS METROPOLITAN OF BELGRADE.

At the time when the Slavonian nations were first brought into contact with the Church, by the preaching of SS. Cyril and Methodius, we find the country of Servia inhabited by the same race¹ who now people it. Under their own Shupanes, they acknowledged a feudal superiority in the Emperor of Constantinople; and, as the true Faith spread among them, they allowed a general primacy in the Œcumenical Patriarch, without confessing his claims to patriarchal jurisdiction.

¹ Ranke's Hist. Servia, Eng. Trans., p. 2.

In the eleventh century, Constantinople endeavoured ^a to assert a more binding claim on the allegiance of Serbia; but Stephen Boistlaw maintained the independence of his country, and the army of Constantine Monomachus was annihilated by him in the mountain defiles of Jeni-bazaar. From that time forward Serbia was free; and it is not wonderful that the Shupanes should have sought for an alliance with western powers, and have endeavoured to obtain the protection of the Roman Pontiff. This tendency however in no way lessened the devotion of either prince or people to the Eastern Church; not though S. Gregory VII. bestowed on the Shupane ^x the title of King; and Nemanja, a century later, entertained thoughts of amalgamating his dominions with the German empire.

With the son of Nemanja, Stephen, the glory of Serbia began. He was crowned king by his brother S. Sawa ^y, first Archbishop of Uschize ^z and All Serbia; and thenceforward Church and State acted together in the happiest union. In the fourteenth century the Servian Monarchy was a very formidable power; and S. Stephan Dushan, in whom it culminated, extended his empire to Arta in the South, to Spalato in the West, and over Bulgaria and the better part of Roumelia to the East. He called himself the Macedonian Czar, beloved of Christ; and in the Synod of Pherä, Joannicius was elected, not Archbishop, but Patriarch of Serbia. The title was recognised by Pope Innocent VI. ^a, but the Prelate who assumed it, and the Monarch who authorized it, were excommunicated by Philotheus ^b or Callistus of Constantinople. Many fair churches in Serbia remain to prove the piety of S. Stephen Dushan; but, however represented by Roman writers ^c, he was entirely opposed to the Western Church. A law which he passed condemns those

^a Glycas, p. 592.

^x Le Quien, ii. p. 590.

^y Bolland. Jan. 14. Vit. S. Sabbæ.

But either Servian annals or Roman traditions are strangely false.

^z It will be found half-way between Bosna-Serai and Pristine.

^a Wadding. Annal. Min. ad ann.

1354.

^b Paton's Serbia, p. 315. Le Quien, i. 302.

^c "Admodum laboravit," says Le Quien, (ii. 319,) "ut regni sui homines ad Romanæ Ecclesiæ canonem redirent."—See Ranke, p. 17.

who were convicted of spreading the "Latin Heresy" to the mines.

The son and successor of Dushan, S. Knes Lasar, fell gloriously for his country on the field of Kossowa^d, (A.D. 1389,) and with him fell the liberty of Servia. For a time it existed as a kind of fief to the Ottoman Empire; but was finally overwhelmed in the disastrous battle of Varna, (A.D. 1444.) George Brankowitsch, the heart and soul of the Christian league, there crushed by Amurath, declared himself rather in favour of Turkish toleration, than Roman rule.

The Servian Patriarchate, however, still continued. But unfortunately, in 1689, Arseni Czernowich, who filled that office, joined the Emperor Leopold, then entertaining thoughts of expelling the Ottomans from Europe. On the failure of that attempt, Arseni^e, with 37,000 Servian families, passed into Hungary, and, receiving great privileges from the Court of Vienna, became Metropolitan of Carlowitz.

On this, the Porte constituted Ipeik^f the Patriarchal See, and appointed a creature of its own to it. It existed till 1765^g; and in that year was suppressed; the then Patriarch having declared himself in favour of Peter III., who aspired to the Servian crown. Thenceforward, the country was a province of Constantinople.

When, in 1810, Kara George, after liberating his country, became supreme head of the State, the Archbishop of Carlowitz was regarded as its Ecclesiastical ruler. But, by the Hattischeriff of 1830, which recognised the partial independence of Servia, its inhabitants were again allowed to choose their own Patriarch^h; the election having to be confirmed at Constantinople, though the elected Prelate was not compelled personally to visit the Metropolis.

In 1838, when the seat of government was transferred to Belgrade, that city was the seat of the Metropolitan of Servia. He no longer takes the title, though in his own province he enjoys the authority, of a Patriarch.

^d Ranke, p. 24.

^e Ibid., p. 35.

^f Le Quien, writing shortly after this time, gives "Diœcesis Servicæ:

Petcium Metropolis."

^g Paton, p. 316.

^h Ranke, p. 379.

The Servian Church is at present thus arranged :

Belgrade¹,—Metropolis.

Shabatz^k

Csatsak¹

} Bishopricks.

and (I believe) Uschize

The Metropolitan has a revenue of about £800 ; his three^m suffragans of about £400 yearly.

¹ Paton, pp. 69, 113.

^k Ibid., p. 113.

¹ Ibid., p. 182.

^m Ibid., p. 315.

CHAPTER IV.

A NOTITIA OF THE ANCIENT AND MODERN SEES

IN THE

DIOECESSE OF CONSTANTINOPLE :

TOGETHER WITH ITS OFFSHOOTS,

RUSSIA, GEORGIA, ARMENIA.

NOTITIA OF CONSTANTINOPE.

BEFORE entering on the following Notitia, it may be well to state how it has been formed: for, simple as it may seem, it has been the most laborious part of the present volume.

I have in the first place taken all the names of places inserted by Le Quien; that is, of places the name of any one Bishop of which is known, and of the actual existence of which, as Sees, we can be more certain than of such as merely occur in a catalogue. These are printed in Roman type.

But it is very clear that many Bishopricks existed, of the occupants of which not one name has descended to us. I have therefore carefully compared the Notitia of Leo Sapiens, (881,) as published by Leunclavius^a, with those given by Schelstrate^b, Bingham^c, A. S. Paulo^d, and Banduri. The incorrectness of the best of these is hardly to be believed. The names which I *only* obtain from such sources, are printed in Italics.

The right hand column contains the actually existing Sees of the Eastern Church, printed opposite to those to which they correspond. This, notwithstanding all my enquiries, and the unpublished sources of information which I have enjoyed, is far less perfect than I could have wished; but yet, so far as it goes, may be depended on as correct.

DIOCESE OF CÆSAREA.

CAPPADOCIA PRIMA.

<i>Ancient.</i>	<i>Modern.</i>
CÆSAREA, Metropolis.	KESARIEH, Metropolis.
THERMÆ BASILICÆ.	
NYSSA.	NISI (=NYSSA,) Metropolis.
<i>Methodiopolis.</i>	
CAMULIANA.	
CISCISSUS.	
<i>Euaissa.</i>	
<i>Serias.</i>	
<i>Arathia.</i>	
<i>Æpolia.</i>	

^a Jus Gr. Lat., ii. 88.

^b Sac. Coucil. Aut. Vind., iv. 13.

^c III. 887. Straker's Ed.

^d Append. Geog. Sacr.

CAPPADOCIA SECUNDA.

*Ancient.**Modern.*

TYANA, Metropolis.
 CYBISTRA*.
 FAUSTINOPOLIS.
 SASIMA.
 BALBISSA.

CAPPADOCIA TERTIA.

MOCESUS, or JUSTINIANOPOLIS†, Metropolis.
 NAZIANZUS.
 COLONIA.
 PARNASUS.
 DOARA.
Metraua.

ARMENIA PRIMA.

SEBASTE, Metropolis.
 SEBASTOPOLIS.
 NICOPOLIS.
 SATALA.
 COLONIA.
 BERISSA.
 AMPHIPOLIS.
 JUSTINIANOPOLIS.
 CAMACHE.
 THEODOSIOPOLIS.
 PIDACHTHOE, or HERACLEOPOLIS.

ARMENIA SECUNDA.

MELITENE, Metropolis.
 ARCE.
 CUCUSUS.
 COMANA.
 ARABISSUS.
 ARIARATHIA.
 CITHARIZA.

GALATIA PRIMA.

ANCYRA.	ANGOURI, (=ANCYRA,) Metrop.
TABIA.	
HELIOPOLIS, or JULIOPOLIS.	? SARILAR, (=HELIOPOLIS,) Metropolis.
ASPONA.	
VERINOPOLIS.	

* Made an Archbishoprick by the Patriarch Constantine, (probably the Second: in that case between 754

and 766.) Leunclavius. Jus Gr. Lat., i. 93.

† Procop. de Ædific., lib. v.

Ancient.

MINIUS.
CINNA.
ANASTASIOPOLIS.
CALUMENE.
LAGANIA.

Modern.

PONTUS POLEMONIACUS.

NEOCÆSAREA, Metropolis.

TRAPEZUS.
CERASUS^s.
POLEMONIUM.
COMANA PONTICA.
RHIZÆUM^h.
PITYUSSA.
Halyarum.
Coccus.
Eunicus.
Aradase¹.
Martyropolis.
Hypælus.

NIKSAR, (=NEOCÆSAREA,) Me-
tropolis.

TREBIZOND, (=TRAPEZUS,) Arch-
bishoprick. [The Suf-
fragans given to this See in
the Notitia of Leo Sapiens,
will be found, for the most
part, under GEORGIA.]

GALATIA SECUNDA.

PESSINUS, Metropolis.
MYRICIUM, or THERMÆ^h.
EUDOXIAS.
PETENISSUS.
TROCMADA.
GERMOCOLONIA.
Spalea, or Justinianopolis.
ORCISTUS.
CLANEUS.
GERMIA, or MYRIANGELI¹.
Synodi.
Lotinus.

^s Made a Metropolis before 1143, (Leo Allat. de Cons. ii. 11,) and finally an Exarchy. (Philip. Cypr.)

^h Made an Archbishoprick under S. Germanus, (between 715 and 730,) reduced to a Bishoprick under Theophylact, (between 933 and 956,) and finally made a Metropolis.

¹ The three last are only mentioned

by the Scholiast on the Notitia of Leo Sapiens.

^k Its Bishop thus signs at Chalcedon. It is called in Leunclavius *S. Agapeti*: the subscription in the Quinisext Council being *Thermæ S. Agapeti*.

¹ Made an Archbishoprick at a period later than the seventh Council.

HELENOPONTUS.

*Ancient.**Modern.*

AMASEA, Metropolis.

AMASIA, Metropolis.

IBORA, or PIMOLISSA.

AMISUS.

SINOPE.

ANDRAPA.

ZALICHUS, or LEONTOPOLIS^m.

ZELA.

EUCHAÏTA, or THEODOROPOLIS.

PAPHLAGONIA.

GANGRA, Metropolis.

IONOPOLIS.

DADYBRA.

SORA.

POMPEIOPOLIS.

AMASTRISⁿ.

HONORIAS.

CLAUDIOPOLIS, Metropolis.

HERACLEA PONTI.

PRUSIAS.

TIUS.

CRATIA.

HADRIANOPOLIS.

BITHYNIA PRIMA.

NICOMEDIA, Metropolis.

ISINID, (= NICOMEDIA,) Metropolis.

CHALCEDON^o.

KADI-KIOT, (= CHALCEDON,) Metropolis.

PRUSA, or THEOPOLIS^p.

BRUSA, Metropolis.

PRÆNETUS.

HELENOPOLIS.

BASILINOPOLIS.

DASCYLUM.

APOLLONIAS.

^m Made an Episcopal See in the xxviiith Novell of Justinian.ⁿ Made a Metropolis before the Notitia of Leo Sapientia.^o Raised to the rank of a Metropolis

at the Council of Chalcedon. See the subscription of Eleutherius, the then Bishop, in Sessions 3 and 6.

^p Metropolis, between 1131 and 1242.

Ancient.
HADRIANI.
CÆSARÆA.
GALLUS, or LOPHUS.
DAPHNUSIA.
SOBEUR.
NEOCÆSARÆA^q, or ARISTE.
CADOSIA.
CIVS^r.
MELANGIA.
RHYNDACE.
Patavium.
Dablis.

Modern.

BITHYNIA SECUNDA.

NICÆA, Metropolis.	IZNIK, (=NICÆA,) Metropolis.
MODRENA, or MELA.	
LINOR.	
GORDOSEKVI.	
NUMERICA.	
<i>Maximiana.</i>	
<i>Taius.</i>	
APAMEA AD MÆANDRUM^s.	

DIOCESE OF EPHESUS.

ASIA.

EPHESUS, Metropolis.	EPHESUS, Metropolis.
HYPÆPA^t, Protothronus.	with these Suffragans,
TRALLES.	(1847,)
MAGNESIA AD MÆANDRUM.	{ AIDENE=HELIOPOLIS,
KLÆA.	{ CHISME^u,
ADRAMYTUM.	{ and a Vicar of
ASSUS.	{ EPHESUS.
GARGARA.	
MASTAURA.	
CALOË.	
BRIULA.	
PITANE.	

^q Metropolis, after the ninth century.

^r Archbishoprick, before the eighth Council.

^s Metropolis in the ninth century.

^t Metropolis under Isaac Angelus,

between 1185 and 1195.

^u Erected by S. Dionysius Calliar-chas, the very year of his Martyrdom, 1818. Noroff. p. 289.

<i>Ancient.</i>	<i>Modern.</i>
MYRINE.	
NYSA.	
PHOCÆA.	
AURELIOPOLIS, or VALENTINIANOPOLIS.	
<i>Maschacoma.</i>	
METROPOLIS.	
BARETTA.	
MAGNESIA SIPYLI.	
ANINETA.	
PERGAMUS ² .	
ANÆA.	
PRIENE.	
ARCADIOPOLIS.	
NEA AULE.	
DIOSHIERON.	
ALGIZA.	
SION.	
COLOPHON.	
LEBEDUS.	
TEOS.	
ERYTHRÆ.	
CLAZOMENÆ.	
ANTANDROS.	
THEODOSIOPOLIS, or PERPERENE ² .	
CYME.	
PALEOPOLIS.	
TEMNOS.	
ÆGÆA.	
ANDERA.	
EVAZA.	
BALCÆA.	
<i>Thyræa.</i>	
<i>Chliara.</i>	
SMYRNA ² .	SMYRNA, Metropolis.
<i>Sosandrus.</i>	
<i>Archangelus.</i>	
<i>Petra.</i>	

THE HELLESPONT.

CYZICUS, Metropolis	ARTAKI (=CYZICUS,) Metropolis.
GERMÆ.	
PEMANINUS.	

² Metropolis after 1136.² Mitylene being made a Metropolis under Alexius Comnenus, Theodosiopolis became its Suffragan.² Metropolis before the Notitia of Leo Sapiens, with these Suffragans: Phocæa, Magnesia Sipyli, Sosandrus, Clazomenæ, Archangelus, Petra

<i>Ancient.</i>	<i>Modern.</i>
OCE.	
BARIS.	
HADRIANOTHEBÆ.	
LAMPISACUS.	
ABYDUS ^a .	
DARDANUS.	
ILIUM.	
TROAS.	
PIONIA.	
MILETOPOLIS ^b .	
HADRIANA.	
SCEPSIS.	
PRÆCONNESUS ^c .	MARMORA, (=PRÆCONNESUS,)
PARIUM ^d .	Archbishoprick.
<i>Daphnusia.</i>	

PHRYGIA PACATIANA.

LAODICEA, Metropolis.
 TIBERIOPOLIS.
 AZANI.
 ANCYRA.
 CIDISSUS.
 PELTÆ.
 APPIA.
 CADL.
 TRAJANOPOLIS, or TRANOPOLIS.
 SANIS.
 SEBASTE.
 EUMENIA.
 TEMENOTHYRÆ.
 ALIL.
 SILBIUM.
 TRAPEZOPOLIS.
 ILUZA.
 CERETAPA.
 SYNAUS.
 THEMIZONIUM.
 COLOSSÆ^e.

^a Metropolis before 1156: at a later period again reduced to a Bishoprick.

^b Metropolis before 1346: translated to Lupadium.

^c Archbishoprick before the ninth century.

^d Archbishoprick before the eighth

Council: Metropolis before 997.

^e Colossæ, under the title of Chonæ, originally, it would appear, one of its suburbs, was made an Archbishoprick by Photius, and afterwards attained Metropolitcal dignity.

<i>Ancient.</i>	<i>Modern.</i>
ACMONIA.	
VALENTIA.	
ATHANASSUS.	
ARISTIUM.	
THEODOSIOPOLIS.	
THAMPSIOPOLIS.	
LUNDA.	
DIONYSOPOLIS.	
PHILIPPOPOLIS.	
DIOCLIA.	
ANASTASIOPOLIS.	
MOSYNA.	
APAMEA CIBOTUS.	
ATTYDA.	
METELLOPOLIS.	
ICRIA.	
<i>Agathe Come.</i>	
<i>Tripolis.</i>	
<i>Horaca.</i>	
<i>Orini.</i>	
<i>Justinianopolis.</i>	
<i>Itcana.</i>	

PHRYGIA SALUTARIS.

SYNNADE, Metropolis.
 HIERAPOLIS[†].
 DORYLÆUM.
 NACOLIA[‡].
 MERUS.
 MIDÆUM.
 IPSUS.
 POLYBOTUM.
 PRYMNESIA.
 PHYTIA.
Sibindus.
 EUCARPIA.
 LYSIAS.
 AUGUSTOPOLIS.

[†] Hierapolis was afterwards made the Metropolis of Phrygia Pacatiana Secunda, with the following Suffragans: Metellopolis, Attyda, Mosyna,

Phobæ, Ancyra, Synaus, Tiberiopolis, Sanis, Canæ.

[‡] Archbishoprick under Photius: Metropolis before 1066.

Ancient.

Modern.

BRYZUS.
OTREYS.
Lycaon.
CINABORIUM.
STECTORIUM.
AMADASSA.
PRÆFENESSUS.
COTYÆUM^b.
Cleri.
Gaiucome.
DOCIMIUM.
ABROSTOLA.
AMORIUM¹.
DAPHNUDIUM.
CADEMNE.
Scordapia.
Nicopolis.
Ærocla.
GORDORINIA.
Acrocucum.
Spore.
Phobei.

LYDIA.

SARDIS, Metropolis.
PHILADELPHIA^b.
TRIPOLIS.
THYATIRA.
SETTÆ.
AURELIOPOLIS.
GORDI.
TRALLA.
SILANDUS.
MÆONIA.
APOLLONOSHIERON.
APOLLONIAS.
MOSTENE.
HYRCANIA.
BAGE.
BALANDUS.
HERMOCAPELIA.
HIEROCÆSAREA.

ALLAH SHEHR, (=PHILADELPHIA,) Metropolis, with jurisdiction at Venice.

^a Metropolis under Leo Sapiens, with three Suffragans : Spore, Chonæ, Gaiucome.

¹ Metropolis under Photius.

² ? in Phrygia Pacatiana.

^b To this See the Metropolitcal rights of Sardis were transferred, when that city was destroyed by Tamerlane.

<i>Ancient.</i>	<i>Modern.</i>
ACRASSUS.	
DALDA.	
STRATONICIA.	
CERASE.	
GABALA.	
SATALA.	
HELENOPOLIS.	
<i>Sala.</i>	
<i>Mesotymolus.</i>	
<i>Talia.</i>	

CARIA.

APHRODISIAS, or STAUEPOLIS, Metropolis.
CIBYRA.
ERIZI.
HERACLEA SALBACES.
HERACLEA LATMI.
ANTIOCHIA AD MEANDRUM.
TABÆ.
ORTHOSIAS.
HARPASA.
NEAPOLIS.
ALABANDA.
STRATONICIA.
ALINDA.
AMYZON.
ANASTASIOPOLIS.
IASSUS.
BARGYLA.
HALICARNASSUS.
LORYMA.
MYNDUS.
CNIDUS, or STADIA.
CERAMUS.
MILETUS.
MYLISSA.
<i>Hieron.</i>
<i>Cindrama.</i>
<i>Tipassa.</i>
<i>Anotetarta.</i>

CYCLADES¹.

RHODES, Metropolis.	RHODES, Metropolis.
SAMOS.	SAMOS and NICARIA, Arch- bishoprick.

¹ The modern Notitia is principally from Tournefort, and represents the

arrangement of the middle of the eighteenth century.

<i>Ancient.</i>	<i>Modern.</i>
CHIOS.	KHIO, Metropolis.
COS.	Cos, Archbishoprick.
NAXOS.	PARONAXIA ^m , Metropolis.
PAROS.	
THERA.	SANTORINA, (=THERA,) Arch- bishoprick.
TENOS.	ANDEO, Archbishoprick.
ANDROS.	MILO ⁿ and KIMOLO, Archbi- shoprick.
MELOS.	LERO ^o .
LEROS.	
DELOS.	SCARPANTO and CAXO, Arch- bishoprick.
CARPATHUS.	SIPHANTO, Archbishoпрick ^p .
SIPHNOS.	
TENEDOS ^q .	IMBRO, Metropolis.
IMBROS.	LEMNO, Metropolis.
LEMNOS.	METELINI, Metropolis.
MITYLENE ^r .	MOLIVO, (=METHYMNE,) Me- tropolis.
METHYMNE.	
<i>Icaria.</i>	
<i>Astypalea.</i>	
<i>Trachea.</i>	
<i>Nesuri.</i>	
<i>Pissine.</i>	
<i>Strongyle.</i>	
<i>Berbinus.</i>	

LYCIA.

MYRA, Metropolis.	MYRA, PISIDIA, ATTALIA, and SIDE, united Metropolis.
<i>Mastera.</i>	
TELMESSUS.	
LIMYRA.	
ARAXA.	

^m United, and made a Metropolis in May, 1088. It is a rich See : in Naxos only were nineteen Churches, and seven Monasteries.

ⁿ This is a rich See : and there were eighteen Churches and thirteen Monasteries in the island. Tournefort, i. 164.

^o If this Bishop be not autocephalous, he is a Suffragan of Metelini.

^p A rich See : there were five hundred Chapels in the island ; the Diocese in-

cludes Policandro, Nio, Serpho, Mykoni, Sicino, Stampalia, Amorgo. Tournefort, i. 188.

^q Afterwards Metropolitan and Hypertimus.

^r In the Notitia of Leo Sapiens this has six Suffragans : Hierissus, which the same Notitia reckons under Thessalonica ; Marmaritza, which it also counts under Larissa ; Tenedos, Berbinus, Perperine, Strongyle.

*Ancient.**Modern.*

PODALIA.
 SIDYMA.
 PINARA.
 OLYMPUS.
 PATARA.
 TLOS.
 CORYDALLA.
 CANDIBA.
 CAUNUS.
 ACRASSUS.
 XANTHUS.
 MARCIANE.
 CHOMA.
 PHELLUS.
 ANTIPHELLUS.
 PHASELIS.
 AUCANDA.
 EUDOCIAS.
 NISA.
 BALBYRA.
 GENOANDA.
 BUBO.
 CALINDA.
 RHODIOPOLIS.
 COMBI.
 ZENOPOLIS.
 ORYCANDA.
 MELOE.
Arnea.
Acalissus.
Lebissus.
Paliotæ.
Cyaneæ.
Aprilla.
Onyrda.

PAMPHYLIA PRIMA.

SIDE, Metropolis.
 ASPENDUS.
 ETENNE.
 ORYMNA.
 CASSÆ.
 SEMNEA.
 CARALIA.
 CORACESIUM.

<i>Ancient.</i>	<i>Modern.</i>
SYEDRA.	
COTENA.	
COMANA, or MANEA.	
LYRBA.	
COLYBRASSUS.	
SELGE.	
<i>Justinianopolis.</i>	
<i>Anamanda.</i>	
<i>Dalisandus.</i>	
<i>Isbi.</i>	
<i>Banaua, or Manaua.</i>	

PAMPHYLIA SECUNDA.

PERGE, Metropolis.
 SYLÆUM*.
 TERMESSUS.
 EUDOCIAS.
 MAXIMIANOPOLIS.
 PALÆOPOLIS.
 PETNELISSUS.
 ARIASSUS.
 ADRIANA.
 CREMNÆ.
 MAGYDIS.
 COMMACUM.
 PYGLA.
 ATTALIA†.
 COLBASA.
 SANDIDA.
 LYSINIA.
 CORDYLUS.
 LAGANIA.
 PANEMUTICHUS.
 PERBÆNA.
 ISINDUS.
 ZENOPOLIS.
Olbia.
Barba.
Cous.
Dicytanærum, or Adycetanaurum.
Seleucia.

* Metropolitical rights of Perge transferred hither by Constantine Co-pronymus.
 † Metropolis in 1084.

*Ancient.**Modern.*

PISIDIA.

ANTIOCH, Metropolis.

SAGALASSUS.

SOZOPOLIS.

APAMEA.

NEAPOLIS*.

TITYASSUS.

TYRIUM.

BARE.

HADRIANOPOLIS.

LIMENÆ.

LAODICEA COMBUSTA.

SELEUCIA FERREA.

ADADA.

PEOSTAMA.

MALLUS.

SINIANDUS.

METROPOLIS.

PAPPA.

PARALAUS.

PHILOMELIUM.

TYMBRIAS.

BINDEUM.

TYMANDUS.

EUDOXIOPOLIS.

ZARZELA.

Conane.

LYCAONIA.

ICONIUM, Metropolis.

COGNI, or KONIAH*, Metropolis.

LYSTRA.

VASADA.

AMBLADA.

HOMONANDA.

HYDE.

BARATTA.

DERBE.

LARANDA.

BERINOPOLIS, or VERINOPOLIS.

SABATRA.

* Archbishoprck before the eighth Council.

* Celebrated, in modern times, for

the defeat, under its walls, of Reschid Pasha by Ibrahim Pasha, Dec. 20, 1834.

*Ancient.**Modern.*

CANNA.

*Corna.*ISAURA⁷.

MISTHIUM.

ILISTRA.

PERTA.

ECDAMAUA.

*Galbana.**Psibellum.**Passala.**Tibassada.*

DIOCESE OF THRACE.

EUROPE.

HERACLEA, Metropolis.

EREKLI, Metropolis, *with the
five following Suffragans,*

CALLIPOLIS.

GALLIPOLI.

RHÆDESTUM.

RODOSTO, Honorary Archbi-
shoprick.

TSYROLLOE.

TCHORLU.

METRA.

METRA.

MYRIOPHYTUM.

MYRIOPHYTUM.

SELYMBRIA.

SILIVRI, Archbishoprick.

MEDIA.

MIDIEH, Metropolis.

BIZYA.

WISA, Metropolis.

GANUS.

GANUS and KHORA, Metropolis.

PANIUM.

DERCUS and KILA, Metropolis².

CÆLE.

SABADIA.

APREUS, or THEODOSIOPOLIS².

CHERSONNESUS.

DYZIPARA.

LYSIMACHIA, or HEXAMILIUM.

LEZICUM.

CHARIOPOLIS.

PAMPHILUS.

DAONTIUM.

ARCADIOPOLIS.

⁷ In the time of S. Basil, the Prelate of this See seems to have possessed Archiepiscopal rights under Iconium.

² Le Quien places Dercus in Thrace; and there was a city of that name

there. But that to which Panium (= Kilia or Kila) is at present joined, seems to be the modern Dercus on the Black Sea.

² Metropolis before 1171.

<i>Ancient.</i>	<i>Modern.</i>
MADYTUS ^b .	
EUCHANIA, or THEODOROPOLIS.	
ATHYRA.	
CHALCIS.	
SERGEANTZA.	
<i>Peristasia.</i>	

THRACE.

PHILIPPOPOLIS, Metropolis.	PHILIPPOPOLI, Metropolis.
DIOCLETIANOPOLIS.	
DIOSPOLIS.	
DELCUS.	
BEBOE.	
LITITZA.	LITITZA, Archbishoprick.
JOANNITZA.	
LEUCA.	
NICOPOLIS.	
GARELLA.	
<i>Scutarium.</i>	
<i>Bleptus.</i>	
<i>Dramitza.</i>	
<i>Constantia.</i>	
<i>Belicea.</i>	
<i>Bucuba.</i>	

HAMIMONTUS.

HADRIANOPOLIS, Metropolis.	HADRIANOPLE ^c , Metropolis, <i>with these two Suffragans,</i>
AGATHOPOLIS.	AGATHOPOLIS.
TRABIZYA.	TRABIZYA.
MESEMBRIA.	MESEMBRI, Metropolis.
DEBELTUS.	
PLOTINOPOLIS.	
PROBATA.	
BULGAROPHYGUS.	
SCOPELUS.	
BRY SIS.	
BUCELLUM.	
ANCHIALUS.	ANCHIALO, Metropolis.
<i>Tweda.</i>	
<i>Carabus.</i>	

^b Archbishoprick before 1145.^c Besides these Suffragans, Sizeboli is given to Hadrianople by Crusius, Turc. Gr., p. 336. *Hodie*, says LeQuien, *sola illi superest Agathopolis, ex recentioribus notitiis.* But he is probably misled by Smith, p. 87.

Ancient.

Modern.

RHODOPE.

TRAJANOPOLIS, Metropolis.

MARONEA.

MAXIMIANOPOLIS.

TOPEBUS, or RHUSIUM.

ÆNUS.

MACRE.

CYPSELUS.

XANTHIA.

PERITHEORIUM.

MOSYHOPOLIS.

DIDYMOTICHUS.

ANASTASIOPOLIS.

CARABIYA.

POEL.

THEODORIUM.

TRAJANOPOLIS and MARONI,
Metropolis.

ÆNOS, Metropolis.

XANTHIA and PERITHEORIUM,
Metropolis.

DIMOTIKA, Metropolis.

MÆSIA INFERIOR^a = BULGARIA.

MARCIANOPOLIS, Metropolis.

TORNOBUS.

SHUMLA, Metropolis.

TIRNOVA.

LOPHITZUS.

AREBITUM.

NOVÆ.

SEXANTAPRISTA.

NICOPOLIS.

ODYSSUS^b.

APFIARIA.

COMRA.

DOROSTOLUM.

AXIOPOLIS.

BRANDIZUBER.

BELESBUGD.

VARNA.

NIGEBOLI, Archbishoprick.

BARE, Archbishoprick^c.

SILISTRA, Metropolis.

VARNA, Metropolis.

GOTTHIA and CAPHA, Metrop.

WALLACHIA.

BUKHOREST, Metropolis.

MOLDAVIA.

JASSY, Metrop., translated from
Sotzova, having as Suffragans,
ROMANI WAIWAR.

CHOTZA.

TRATUSCH.

^a Here all the Notitia, except Le
Quien, are hopelessly perplexed.

^b Le Quien makes this a different

place from Bare : I believe wrongly.

^c When Smith wrote these were not
united.

SCYTHIA, AND THE BARBARIC TRIBES.

These Sees are hopelessly confused in all the Notitiæ, but are ably developed by the Archimandrite Macarius, in his *History of Christianity in Russia before S. Vladimir*, (S. Petersburg, 1846.) They stand thus :

LITTLE SCYTHIA had one autocephalous Metropolitan at Tomi.

TAURO SCYTHIA, or the CRIMEA, five Bishopricks.

CHERSONNESUS, now CHERSONES, on the south-west coast of the Crimea.

SOUDAK, in the Crimea.

PHOULLA, exact situation unknown, but in the Crimea.

BOSPORUS, See at Panticapea, or Kerch.

GOTTHIA, the coast north-west of the Crimea, and part of Bessarabia.

Soudak, or Sugdeum, is placed by Le Quien in Bulgaria, Bosporus and Chersonnesus in Zichia : of Phoulla he candidly confesses that he knows nothing : Gotthia has left its name in the modern See mentioned in the last page. The Sees in Zichia and Keltzene will be mentioned under other heads.

ILLYRICUM ORIENTALE.

MACEDONIA.

<i>Ancient.</i>	<i>Modern.</i>
THESSALONICA, Metropolis.	SALONIKI, Metropolis, <i>having as Suffragans,</i>
PYDNA.	CITROS.
SERBIA.	SERBIA.
CAMPANIA.	CAMPANIA.
PETRA.	PETRA.
ARDAMERIUM, or HERCULEA.	ARDAMERIUM.
HIERISSUS.	MONTE SANTO.
POLIANA.	POLIANA.
PLATAMON.	PLATAMON.
DIUS.	
PHILIPPI ^b .	PHILIPPI and DRAMA, Metro-
DRAMA ¹ .	polis.
BERRHÆA.	BERRHÆA, Metropolis.
STOBI.	
PARTHICOPOLIS.	
DOBERUS.	

^a See above, under Mitylene. This Prelate, though Suffragan to Saloniki, appears to be so in the Exarchal character of that See, and writes himself Metropolitan.

^b Macedonia having been divided by Theodosius Junior into two provinces, Philippi became the head of

Macedonia Prima, and had as Suffragans Theorium, Polystolum, Belicca, Christopolis, Smolæna, Cæsaropolis, Alectryopolis.

¹ This, in after times a Metropolis, was not, up to that of Codinus, a See, but only the residence of the Protopapas of the throne of Philippi.

Ancient.

CASSANDRIA.
 EDESSA.
 HERACLEA.
 AMPHIPOLIS, or CHRISTOPOLIS.
 THASSUS.
 SERRÆ.
 BARGALA.
 THEORIUM.

ZYCHNA.
 DRYGOBITIA.
 MELENICUS.
 RHENDINA.
 DEABOLIS.
 LYCOSTOMIUM.
Smolena.
 POLYSTOLUS.
 ALECTRYOPOLIS.
 CÆSAROPOLIS.

Modern.

CASANDRIA, Archbishoprick.
 (*See under Prævalis.*)

SERRÆ, Metropolis.

POGOIANA, or POIANA, Arch-
 bishoprick.

ZYCHNA, Metropolis.

MELENICUS, Metropolis.
 RHENDINA and ARIBLI.

THESSALY.

LARISSA, Metropolis.

DEMETRIAS.
 ZETUNUM.
 STAGÆ.
 THAUMACUS.
 SCIATHUS.
 SCOPELUS.

LÆDORICIUM.
 LITZA.
 DEMONICUS.
 CÆSAREA.
 ECHINUS.
 COMPHI.
 PHARSALUS.
 LANIA.
 TRICCA.
 HYPATA.
 METROPOLIS.
 THEBÆ PETHIOTICÆ.

LARISSA, Metropolis, *with these*
Suffragans,

DIMITRIATO.
 ZETUNI.
 STAGON.
 TAUMACO.
 SCHIATTO and SCOPELO.

GARDICION.
 RADOBISDION.
 LOIDORICION.
 LITZA AND AGRAPHA.
 ELASSON.

PHARSALUS, Archbishoprick⁴.

⁴ This Prelate calls himself Exarch, and claims Archidiaconal rights in the whole Diocese.

<i>Ancient.</i>	<i>Modern.</i>
<i>Colydrum.</i>	
PEPARETHUS ¹ ?	
EZERUS.	
PHERE ^m .	
MARMARITZIUM.	
BEZENA.	
NOVÆ PATRÆ, <i>which, becoming</i> <i>a Metropolis before the time</i> <i>of Leo, had as Suffragans,</i> <i>Galaza.</i>	
<i>Cutziagra.</i>	
<i>Sibictus.</i>	
<i>Bariane.</i>	
NICOPOLIS ⁿ , Metropolis.	EPIRUS.
	JOANNINA, Metropolis, <i>with</i> <i>these four Suffragans,</i>
PHOTICE.	BELLA.
BUTHROTUS.	BITRONT ^o .
	CHIMARRA.
HADRIANOPOLIS, or DRYNOPO- LIS.	ARGYRO-CASTRO.
ANCHIASMUS.	PARAMITHIA ^p .
PHENICE.	
DODONA.	
EVREÆ.	
CORCYRA.	† CORFU, Metropolis ^q .
AETUS.	
LEUCAS.	† S. MAURA.
ACHELOUS.	

HELLAS.

The modern arrangement of the kingdoms of Greece I have given in the last chapter. This Notitia represents its ecclesiastical divisions in the beginning of the eighteenth century.

CORINTH, Metropolis.	CORINTH, Metropolis, <i>with</i> <i>one Suffragan,</i>
DAMALA.	DAMALON.

¹ A conjecture of Le Quien, from the signature in the synodical Epistle of the Council of Sardica, *de Operata, de Phrata, or de Pearata.*

^m This, in the fourteenth century, was a Metropolis.

ⁿ Metropolitical rights, in the time of Philippus Cyprius, had been transferred to Naupactus, though Nicopolis still

retained its Prelates.

^o This town is almost entirely Latinized. Hobhouse, Albania, i. 166.

^p This seems of late erection. Hughes, Albania, ii. 435.

^q The Sees marked thus † are in the Ionian confederacy, and have Bishops nominated by the Senate, and approved by the Œcumenical Patriarch.

<i>Ancient.</i>	<i>Modern.</i>
CENCHREÆ.	ATHENS, Metropolis, <i>having</i> <i>these Suffragans,</i>
ATHENS*.	SOLONA.
AULON.	TALANTIO and DIAULIA.
DIAULIA.	LIVADIA.
SCYROS.	BONDINITZA or MENDINITZA.
CHALCIS, or EURIPUS.	SCYZO.
PATRÆ VETERES.	NEGROFONT, Protopiscopus.
	PATRAS, Metropolis, <i>having</i> <i>these Suffragans,</i>
OLENE.	OLENUS.
CORONE.	CORONE.
METHONE.	TZERNICE.
	METHONE.
	TZERNITZA.
ARGOS*.	NAPOLI DI ROMANIA, Metrop.
NAUPLIUM.	ARCADIA, or CRISTENE, Metrop.
MEGALOPOLIS.	LACEDÆMON, Metropolis, <i>with</i> <i>these Suffragans,</i>
LACEDÆMON†.	CARIOPOLIS.
AMYCLÆ.	AMYCLÆ.
	BRESTENE.
ELIS.	
TEGEA.	
MESSENE*.	
CARYSTUS.	CARYSTO.
NAUPACTUS.	
AMBRACIA†.	ARTA, Metropolis, <i>with these</i> <i>Suffragans,</i>
	ROGOUS.
	ACHELOUS.
	AETUS.
CORONEA.	
ORCUS.	
PORTHMUS.	

* Archbishoprick under Photius: shortly after Metropolis. In the Notitia of Leo it has ten Suffragans: Euripus, Diaulia, Coronea, Oreus, Andros, Scyros, Carystus, Porthmus, Aulon, Syra.

† Metropolis 1089; destroyed by Bajazet, 1395; its Metropolitica rights

given to Nauplium.

* Metropolis 1082.

† Afterwards Archbishoprick.

* The Metropolitica rights of Nicopolis having been transferred to Naupactus, the latter was first joined to Ambracia, (=Larta, or Artā,) and then superseded as Metropolis by it.

<i>Ancient.</i>	<i>Modern.</i>
MARATHON.	
ELATEA.	
MEGARA.	
OPUS.	
PLATEÆ.	
THEBÆ.	THEBES, Metropolis.
THESPIÆ.	
TANAGRA.	
SCARPHIA.	
MONEMBASIA.	NAPOLI DI MALVASIA, Exarchy of Peloponnesus, Metropolis, <i>with these Suffragans,</i>
ELEUS.	ELOS.
	ANDEOUSSA.
<i>Maine.</i>	MÆNA.
	RHEON.
STRATEGIS.	
PYRGUS.	
TRÆZEN.	
ÆGINA.	ÆGINA, Archbishoprick.
ZACYNTHUS.	† CEPHALONIA*.
CEPHALLENIA.	† ZANTE*.
ITHACA.	† ITHACA*.
PILOS.	
CEOS.	CEOS, Archbishoprick.
<i>Zemine.</i>	
ANDROS.	
STRA.	
NEW EPIRUS.	
DYRRHACHIUM, Metropolis.	DURAZZO, Metropolis.
SCAMPE.	
APOLLONIA.	
AMANTIA.	
DECATERA.	
AULON.	AULONA.
LESTRON.	
DRIBASTUS.	
STEPHANIAECUM.	
<i>Chonubia.</i>	
<i>Croia.</i>	
<i>Polatha.</i>	
<i>Acroceraunia.</i>	
ANTIBARI.	

* These three united by Cyril Lucar: now separate.

*Ancient.**Turnicum.**Pulcheriopolis.**Graditsium.**Modern.*

PRÆVALIS.

SCODRA, Metropolis. ✓

DIOCLEA⁷. ✓

ELISSUS. ✓

ACHRIDA, OF LYCHNIDUS⁸. ✓MONTENEGRO, autocephalous
VLADIKA.OKHRIDA, Metropolis, *has these^a*
*Suffragans.*CASTOREA, who calls himself
*Protothronus of Bulgaria.*BITALIA^b, OF MONASTIR.BODENA^c.

COBYTZA.

GREBENO, *all these Metropoles.*

SISANIO.

MOGLENI and MOLESCHI.

PRESPER and DEERI.

CITZABA.

CORA and MACRA.

DACIA MEDITERRANEA.

SARDICA, Metropolis.

REMESIANA.

AQUE.

PAUTALIA.

CASTRUM MARTIS.

MARGUS.

SOPHIA, Metropolis.

DARDANIA.

SCUPL, Metropolis.

ULPIANUM.

APSORUS.

ZAPPARA.

NAISSUS.

SINGEDON. }

CASTOREA. } See under PRÆVALIS.

MOGLENA. }

⁷ Dioclea and Antibari coalesced into one Metropolis before 1062; for in that year Pope Alexander II. sent the Pallium to the then Bishop Peter.

^a See above, p. 51.

^a Most of these Sees will be found in other Provinces under their ancient names.

^b = Pelagonia.

^c = Edessa.

<i>Ancient.</i>	<i>Modern.</i>
	CRETE.
GOETYNA, Metropolis.	METROPOLI, Metropolis ⁴ .
GNOSSUS.	
ARCADIA.	ARCADIA ⁶ .
CHEERSONNESUS.	
HIERAPETRA.	HIERA.
LAPPA.	MIRABELLO.
PHENICE.	HAGHIO VASIL, or LAMPR.
HERACLEOPOLIS.	RHITHYMNE.
SUBBITA.	CYDONIA.
APOLLONIA.	
ELEUTHERNA.	
CYDONIA.	
CISSAMUS.	
CANTANIA.	
<i>Aulopotamos.</i>	AULOPOTAMUS.
<i>Agrios.</i>	There were till lately SITEA,
<i>Sitea.</i>	GNOSSUS, KHERSONNESUS,
	CISAMO.

SERVIA, Autocephalous. ✓

The old arrangement was

IPEIK, Metropolis : *having as*
Suffragans,

In Turkey,

SCOPIA,	} Metropoles.
PRISREND,	
URSIKI,	
RASCA,	
BOSNA SERAI,	
TEMISWAR,	
BELGRADE,	} Archbishopricks.
BALISTI,	
SAMOCAR,	
CASTENTIL,	
NISSA,	}
SEBETTI,	
TZETZIN, Bishoprick.	

⁴ These names are from Pashley's
Crete, i. 206.

• A Prelate of this See, Erasmus by

name, ordained some of John Wesley's
followers. Southey says, "Arcadia in
Cyprus," but there is no such place.

In Germany,

BUNTUM,	}	Metropolies.
CARLOWITZ,		
STREM,		
BATZIN,		Archbishoprick.

ENOBI,	}	Bishopricks.
GIULA,		
POZIERA,		

The new arrangement is, as we have seen,

BELGRADE, Metropolis.

SHABATZ,	}	Bishopricks.
CSATSAK,		
USCHIZE,		

But most of the other Bishopricks still exist, though not as parts of the Servian Church.

RUSSIA.

PRESENT ARRANGEMENT.

I. SEES OF THE FIRST CLASS.

1. Metropolitan of Kieff and Gallicia, honorary Primate of All the Russias; Archimandrite of the Kievo-pechersky Laura.
2. Metropolitan of Novogorod¹.
3. Metropolitan of S. Petersburg, Esthonia, and Finland; Archimandrite of the Alexandro-Nevaly Laura.
4. Metropolitan of Moscow and Kolomna: Archimandrite of the Troitsko-Sergievsky Laura.

II. SEES OF THE SECOND CLASS².

1. Archbishop of Kazan.
2. " " Astrakhan and Enotaievsk.
3. " " Tobolsk and Western Siberia.
4. " " Irkoutsk and Eastern Siberia.
5. " " Yaroslavl and Rostoff.
6. " " Pskoff, Livonia, and Courland.
7. " " Riazan and Saraïsk.
8. " " Tver and Kashine.
9. " " Kherson and the Tauride.
10. Bishop of Mogileff and Mstislavle.
11. Archbishop of Chernigoff and Nejine.
12. " " Minsk and Bobroyusk.
13. " " Podolia and Briatslaff.
14. " " Kishineff and Khotine.
15. " " White Russia and Lithuania.
16. Bishop of Olonetz and Petersavodsk.
17. " " Novocherkask and Georgievsk.

III. SEES OF THE THIRD CLASS.

1. Ekaterinoslav.
2. Bishop of Kalouga and Borofsk.
3. Bishop of Smolensk and Dorogobouge.

¹ Novogorod and S. Petersburg are at present held by the same Prelate, who has a Vicar at Novogorod.

² The numerous additions to the

Russian Episcopate which are constantly being made may render the above list, in one or two particulars, slightly incorrect.

4. " " Nijni Novogorod and Arsamas.
5. " " Koursak and Biel-gorod.
6. " " Vladimir and Souzdal.
7. " " Polotsk.
8. " " Vologda and Ousting.
9. " " Toula and Beleff.
10. " " Viatka and Slobodskoi.
11. " " Archangel and Kholmogori.
12. " " Voronej and Zadonsky.
13. " " Kostroma and Galich.
14. " " Tamboff and Shatak.
15. " " Orel and Sevak.
16. " " Pultava and Pereyaslavla.
17. " " Volhynia and Jitomir.
18. " " Perm and Ekaterinbourg.
19. " " Sitka, Kamschatka, the Aleoutines, and Russian America.
20. " " Penza and Saransk.
21. " " Saratoff and Tsaritsin.
22. " " Kharkoff and the Ukraine.
23. " " Orenbourg and Oufa.
24. " " Simbirsk.
25. " " White Russia.
26. " " Lithuania.
27. " " Tomsk.
28. " " Ekaterinoslav.
29. " " Wilna.
30. " " Vitebsk.
31. " " Warsaw.

IV. CLASS.—VICARIATES.

1. Chigirin.
2. Dmitroff.
3. Staro-Rouss.
4. Revel.
5. Riga.
6. Podolia.
7. Kouno.
8. Voronej.
9. Ekaterinbourg.
10. Vinnitzi.

The Crimea, though now a mere Bishoprick of Russia, deserves a short notice by itself^b.

It was conquered by the Goths towards A.D. 150, who,

^b Dubois de Montpereux, *Voyage autour du Caucase*, vi. 222. Siestrzencewicz, *Hist. de la Tauride*, i. 221.

when converted, seem to have embraced¹ Arianism. In 547, however, we find them applying to Justinian for a new Bishop. Justinian Rhinotmetus, who was banished there at the beginning of the eighth century, caused no small misery to its inhabitants. It was conquered by the Tartars in 1237, but colonised to a great extent by the Genoese in 1380, and wrested from them by the Turks in 1475; it remained partially dependent on Turkey, though governed by its own Khans, till ceded to Russia in the last century.

In the year 900, it possessed these Bishops, as we have seen ;

Bosporus,
Soudak,
Gotthia,
Khersonnesus,
Phoulla.

GEORGIA.

(IBERIA—GRUZIA.)

ARRANGEMENT² OF SEES IN THE 8TH OR 9TH CENTURY.

I. THE PATRIARCH CATHOLICOS OF MTSKÉTHA, AND ALL GEORGIA: WITH THESE SUFFRAGANS.

1. Archbishop of Somkhetia.
2. " " Mtskétha.
3. Bishop of Matskour.
4. " " Koumourdi.
5. " " Ishkni.
6. " " Mtebeveli.
7. " " Tsarostaveli.
8. " " Gangeli.
9. " " Rustoff.
10. " " Katsareli.
11. " " Mroveli.
12. " " Nikoz.
13. " " Valashkirte.
14. " " Kreli.
15. " " Charchashori.

¹ Procop. B. G. iv. 4.

² This list is from Jossilian's Church History of Georgia, chap. 3.

16. " " Baneli.
17. " " Chermisi.
18. " " Dabanisi.

II. THE CATHOLICOS OF ARKHASIA, WITH THESE SUFFRAGANS.

1. Archbishop of Chikondit.
2. " " Alavard.
3. " " Bodbi.
4. Bishop of Ninotsminda.
5. " " Anchili.
6. " " Tsurtscami.
7. " " Erusheti.
8. " " Tsintscaro.
9. " " Urbnisi.
10. " " Samtaoneli.
11. " " Bolni.
12. " " Aneli.
13. " " Tiflis.
14. " " Salkali.
15. " " Dmanisi.
16. " " Gisheli.

THE PRESENT ARRANGEMENT IS

1. Metropolitan of Tiflis, Exarch of All Georgia ; *ex-officio* member of the Holy Governing Synod, and President of the Synodal Kontor, or National Synod.
2. Bishop of Gori, the Exarch's Vicar.
3. Bishop of Outais and Imeretia.
4. Bishop of Marlivi and Mingrelia.
5. Archbishop of Gourial¹.

ARMENIA.

[For the following Notitia of modern Armenian Sees, I am indebted to a MS. translation, by the Rev. R. W. Blackmore, of the report of the Russian Minister of the Interior, St. Petersburg, 1843.]

I. THE PATRIARCH CATHOLICOS OF ETCHMIADZINE.

This Prelate is supreme head of the Armenian Church. Etch-

¹ Re-established by an Onkaz, on a report of the Holy Governing Synod, April 1, 1844.

miadsine^m, which means the descent of the Only-Begotten, (Armenian tradition asserting that our Lord here appeared to S. Gregory the Illuminator, and commanded him to erect a temple,) is a large monastery, situated about thirty-five miles to the north of Mount Ararat, in the valley between Erivan and the southern range of the Taurusⁿ. The outer walls, of brick dried in the sun, are double, about thirty feet high, and a mile and a quarter in circumference; they contain several lines of houses of two or three stories, the residences of the Patriarch, Archbishops, and Archimandrites; also school, granaries, a library, strangers' rooms, &c., besides the great church. A bazaar is also held here; and at Shrovetide, buffalo fights, rope-dancers, and dancing bears are exhibited. Here it was that the present Patriarch Narcissus was elected, on the 17th of April, 1843. Twelve Archbishops and Bishops, and forty Archimandrites, reside here. I shall give a view and ground-plan of this church in the next bookⁿ.

II. THE PATRIARCH OF AKHTAMAR.

Akhtamar was, as we have seen, long an independent, or rather schismatic Armenian Patriarchate. It is an island towards the southern extremity of the salt lake of Van, about eighty miles south-west of Ararat. This Patriarchate, as the next one, are merely nominal; their possessors having nothing more than the authority of suffragan Bishops. The Diocese has two towns and thirty villages.

III. THE PATRIARCH OF SIS.

Sis is in the north-western part of Adana, the ancient Cilicia, in the valley between the Gourin and the Gawoor ranges. The Diocese has three towns, and forty villages.

IV. THE PATRIARCH OF CONSTANTINOPLE.

This dignitary is acknowledged by the Turkish government as head of all the Armenians within the limits of the Ottoman Empire, with the reservation of a general dependence on the See of Etchmiadsine. The present Prelate is Astvatsatur. By a Provincial Council holden at Constantinople on the 20th of November, 1830, the Dioceses dependent on the Patriarch were thus arranged:

^m Parrot's *Ascent of Ararat*, p. 97. Cooley's translation. Chardin's *Travels*, p. 258. Tournefort, vol. ii. p. 189. Tavernier, p. 14. Kerr Porter, *Travels in Georgia, &c.*, vol. ii. p. 89.

ⁿ There are several offshoots from this great monastery near it. S. Gay-

anne; S. Hripsime; Khorviab, or the deep pit, called also S. Gregory (the Illuminator having been confined here for fourteen years: they still shew the marks supposed to have been made by his elbows:) and Sevanga, on an island in a holy sea, called in Tartar, Gokchai.

1. *Taron, or Musha*. The See is fixed in the latter place in the monastery of the Forerunner. It has for Vicariates
 1. *Arakeloto*, in the monastery of the Holy Apostles.
 2. *Surp-Johannes*, in the monastery of S. John the Divine.
 3. *Amratolu*, in the monastery of S. John the Forerunner.
 4. *Kegy*, in the monastery of Kegy.
2. *Kesarieh, or Gaiseri*. In the monastery of S. John the Forerunner. We find an Armenian Archbishop of this See signing in the Council of Sis, in A.D. 736. It has as Vicariates
 1. *Surp-Daniel*, in the monastery of the Prophet Daniel.
 2. *Tomarza*, in that of the Holy Mother of God.
 3. *Tara Vank*, in the monastery of S. Sergy.
3. *Nicomedia*. But the Diocesan Chair is in the monastery of the Mother of God, in *Charcapan*. It has as Vicariates
 1. *Adar Bazar*.
 2. *Bazar Kegy*.
4. *Brusa*, in the Cathedral Church of the Mother of God. Vicariates,
 1. *Kotine*.
 2. *Panterma*.
5. *Smyrna*, in the Cathedral Church of S. Stephen the Protomartyr.
6. *Kagalai*, i. e. *Galata*, in the monastery of the Holy Mother of God. Vicariates,
 1. *Aphion-Karagisar*.
 2. *Polou*.
7. *Tochatar, or Eudocia*, in ancient Lycia. The See is in the monastery of S. Anne. Vicariates,
 1. *Shabin-Karagisar*, in the monastery of the Holy Apostles.
 2. *Tamzara*, in the monastery of S. Sergy.
 3. *Asibeitur*, in the monastery of Surp-Nishan.
8. *Amasia*, in the monastery of the Holy Mother of God. Vicariate,
 1. *Sepucha*, in the monastery of S. Gregory the Illuminator.
9. *Sebastia*, in the monastery of the Holy Cross.
10. *Erzeroum*, in the monastery called Mutrouka. Vicariates,
 1. *Harmer Vank*, in the monastery of Harmer Vank.
 2. *Gaze Kalt*, in the monastery of the Mother of God.
 3. *Khackha Vank*, in the monastery of the Holy Cross.
 4. *Sper*, in the monastery of S. John the Forerunner.
 5. *Erzinka*, in the monastery of S. Narcissus.
 6. *Derjan*, in the monastery of S. David.
 7. *Kars*, in the monastery of Kosha Vank.
 8. *Uch Kilisse**, in the monastery of S. Gregory the Illuminator.

* This I take to be Bayazid; for that town, and it is too important a place not to have its Bishop. (Parrot,

11. *Van*. The Diocesan Chair is in the monastery of Surp-Nishan. Vicariates,
 1. *Narek*, in the monastery of S. Gregory.
 2. *Ter-uskan-bordy*.
 3. *Lime*, in the monastery of S. George the Victorious.
 4. *Ktouts*, in the monastery of S. John the Forerunner.
 12. *Agen*, in the monastery of Amenaprgieh, or the SAVIOUR. Vicariates,
 1. *Arapker*.
 2. *Kourouchai*.
 13. *Trebizond*, in the Cathedral Church of the Holy Mother of God. Vicariates,
 1. *Gumershtkan*, a place about sixty miles south of Trebizond, in the mountains, and apparently the ancient Pylæ: in the monastery of the Holy Mother of God.
 2. *Babert*.
 14. *Diarbekr*, in the monastery of the Holy Mother of God, at *Partsragaats*. Vicariates,
 1. *Balu*.
 2. *Kharberd*.
 15. *Urfa*, or *Edessa*, in the Cathedral Church of the Holy Mother of God.
 16. *Adrianople*, in the Cathedral Church of S. Theodore. Vicariate,
 1. *Shumla*.
 17. *Tekerday*, or *Thrace*. The Diocesan Chair is at Rodosto, in the Cathedral Church of S. John the Forerunner.
 18. *Egypt*, in the Cathedral Church of Alexandria.
- V. The Patriarch of *Jerusalem*, who is independent, in his own Diocese, Palestine and Cyprus, on his brother of Constantinople. The title was assumed in A.D. 1310. Persia and Russia are immediately dependent on the Patriarch Catholics.

In Persia there are

1. *Ispahan*, in the suburb called the *New Djulpha*, in the monastery of Amenaprgieh. Vicariate,
 1. *Calcutta*.
2. *Tabriz*, in the monastery of S. Thaddæus. Vicariates,
 1. *Achback*, in the monastery of S. Bartholomew.
 2. *Darashamb*, in the monastery of S. Stephen the Protomartyr.

p. 90.) Uch Kiliase is Tartar for "the Monastery of the Three," in Armenian, 'Yeritz-Vank.' The Tartars call Etchmiadzine by the same name,

probably with reference to the Holy TRINITY; for there are not three churches there, as some travellers have asserted.

In Russia the Armenian Sees were thus arranged by an Oukaz, March 11, 1836, confirmatory of Synodal authority :

1. *Nakhichevan and Bessarabia*. This Diocese includes S. Petersburg, Moscow, the Governments of New Russia, and the Province of Bessarabia. The Archbishop resides at Kisheneff.
 2. *Astrakhan*. This includes all the rest of the Empire, except the Trans-Caucasian Provinces. The Archbishop resides at Astrakhan.
 3. *Erivan*. This is the Patriarch's own Diocese, and includes all the old Armenian District, with Ordubat, Shuragel, and part of Karabag. Vicariates,
 1. *Erivan*.
 2. *Nakhichevan*.
 3. *Shuragel*.
 4. *Tatavi*.
 4. *Georgia, at Tiflis*. Vicariates,
 1. *Elizabetpol*.
 2. *Akhaltzick*.
 3. *Imeretia*.
 5. *Karabag*. This includes all that Province, except the part portioned to the Catholicos, the extinct Diocese of Sion. The Archbishop resides at Shusha. Vicariate,
 1. *Shikou*.
 6. *Zhirvan*. The Archbishop resides at Derbent.
- The constitution of the Armenian Church may thus be represented. Besides the Catholicos there are

	Nominal Patriarchs.	Abps.	Bps.
In the Russian Empire	0	5	8
— Persia	0	2	3
— Turkey	4	18	26
	4	25	37

Total Bishops, of all ranks, 67.

The inconvenience of the present Armenian system is manifest, and chiefly arises from the Church being divided among three nations. Hence it follows that the Armenian Patriarch of Constantinople is the immediate head of some Bishops, as at Kars, who are six or seven hundred miles distant from him, and not more than sixty or seventy from Etchmiadzine.

The accompanying table of the Armeno-Gregorian Church in Russia, in 1842, may be interesting.

	Cathedrals.	Parish Churches.	Chapels.	White Clergy of all sects.	Parishioners.	Monasteries.	Monks.	Nuns.	Seminaries.	Schools.
Nackhichevan.....	5	27	4	216	24,521	3	6			10
Astrakhan	3	17	3	146	18,349		3	3	1	1
Erivan	2	408	1	1115	113,227	13	74		2	
Georgia	4	256	37	714	105,567	8	23	19	1	1
Karabag.....	1	163	4	364	42,456	5	13	8	1	1
Shervan		27	3	55	12,607	2	3			
		<u>15</u>	<u>898</u>	<u>52</u>	<u>2610</u>	<u>31</u>	<u>122</u>	<u>30</u>		
Total Churches		965.								

CHAPTER V.

**THE PATRIARCHATE OF ALEXANDRIA,
AND
METRANATE OF ETHIOPIA.**

CHAPTER V.

THE PATRIARCHATE OF ALEXANDRIA, AND METRANATE OF ETHIOPIA.

I HAVE, in another part of this work, dwelt at large on the first propagation of the Faith in Egypt: and have shewn how Alexandria, after having been for three centuries and a half the second Church, was compelled to yield its dignity to the encroachments of Constantinople. It is curious that the Jacobite Patriarchs of Alexandria should have been those who, in consequence of their hatred to the Council of Chalcedon, seconded the efforts of the Roman Pontiff for the annulling of the Canon which gave pre-eminence to Byzantium; while the Catholic Patriarchs seem never to have taken a deep interest in the matter, and quietly acquiesced in the third place.

The powers of the Patriarch of Alexandria were very extensive, and in some respects, so far as concerned his own Diocese, they were superior to those of the Roman Pontiff. As the only Metropolitan in Egypt, he enjoyed the right of consecrating all the Bishops throughout his Diocese: in the same manner as the Bishop of Rome consecrated all the Prelates in the Suburbicarian Churches. But the power of the Patriarch of Alexandria went further; for in any ordination of priests throughout his Diocese, the Bishops did not act by their own right, but simply as his Vicars. A striking instance of this occurs in the visit of S. Athanasius to Upper Egypt, where the Bishop of Tentyra requested him to ordain S. Pachomius, a monk in that Prelate's own Diocese. The deference which was felt for the decision of the Chair of Alexandria by its Suffragans, a deference not exceeded by

that of the Italian Bishops for the decisions of Rome, is strongly expressed in the writings of Synesius; "I wish," he writes, "and a divine necessity is laid upon me, to receive as law whatever that Throne, as an oracle, shall define." And the same spirit runs through his epistles. It is most forcibly evinced by the tears and cries of the Egyptian Bishops at Chalcedon, who protested that, until a Patriarch was given them, they were unable to do any thing that was ordered by the Council.

Nor was the authority of the Patriarch less weighty in civil affairs. Even under a heathen Emperor, Demetrius could chase Origen from the city. Theophilus and S. Cyril carried themselves almost as sovereign princes in the administration of civil affairs. Gibbon says, and (omitting the implied sneer) truly enough, "At a distance from court, and at the head of an immense capital, the Patriarch of Alexandria had gradually usurped the state and authority of a civil magistrate. The public and private charities of the city were managed by his discretion: his voice inflamed or appeased the passions of the multitude; and the præfects of Egypt were awed or provoked by the temporal power of these Christian Pontiffs*."

This excessive authority was, doubtless, hurtful to the interests of the Egyptian Church. When the heretical successors of Dioscorus claimed to be the true representatives of S. Mark, when they threw themselves on the nationality of the Egyptian people, and denounced the Catholics as intruders and *Melchites*, above all when Mahometan tyranny viewed with an eye of suspicion those who had embraced the religion of the Emperor, and extended its favour to those who were theological opponents to Constantinople, the true Church began to decline, till, from numbering a hundred Prelates, she can now reckon but the Patriarch; the succession is preserved, and that is all.

In asserting that there were no Metropolitans in Egypt, I do not mean that their name never occurs in its Ecclesiastical history. Synesius, Bishop of Ptolemais, speaks of that Church as Metropolitan; and I shall have occasion to

* Gibbon, *Decline and Fall*, viii. 278. Ed. 1807.

prove (contrary to the opinion of some writers) that the Church of Lycopolis was possessed, in the time of S. Alexander, of some species of pre-eminence. But this appears to have been merely honorary: and Synesius rather acted as Vicar of the See of Alexandria than by any inherent right of his own. At a later period, indeed, the Alexandrian Church, following in this, as in other customs, the use of Constantinople, did institute Metropolitan Sees; and in one Notitia we find ten, in another eight such. This was previous to the eighth century. The Jacobites afterwards imitated the example of the Catholics, so far as to erect Damietta into a Metropolis.

The Catholic, Metran, or Metropolitan of Abyssinia, Axum, or Ethiopia, (for by all these names he is known,) has enjoyed, ever since the mission of S. Frumentius by S. Athanasius, power distinctly Metropolitan. So, it is probable, did the Archbishop of Nubia, before that Church was destroyed; but the present Bishop, I am given to understand, ranks only as a simple Prelate.

We shall frequently have occasion to remark that from a very early period the Patriarch of Alexandria was in the habit of announcing the time of Easter to the Church Catholic. This duty was enjoined on him by the Council of Nicæa, and gave rise to the Paschal Letters and Homilies, of which we possess many. It would appear that in the year 455, owing to a mistake on the part of the Western Church, the day fixed by S. Proterius of Alexandria, April 24, was held to be wrong: and it was generally believed that April 17 was the true Easter. S. Proterius proved his point, but Leo only gave way for the sake of peace, and by his directions the celebrated cycle of Victorinus was composed. Rome would not, in so comparatively trifling a point, receive instruction from Alexandria.

The Bishop of Alexandria, at least as early as the middle of the third century, was usually termed Pope, which title he still retains. The name of Patriarch, properly belonging to the See of Antioch, was first assumed by, or bestowed on, S. Cyril. Later Patriarchs denominate themselves *Œcumenical Judge*, either, as the Jacobites say, from their ancient

province of defining Easter, or from the reason assigned in another place^b.

The present Catholic Patriarch is entitled "Pope and Patriarch of the great city Alexandria, and Œcumenical Judge." The Jacobite Patriarch, in a communication I received from Egypt, is termed "Patriarch of Egypt, Jerusalem, the Holy City, Nubia, Abyssinia, the Five Western Cities, (i. e. Pentapolis,) and all the preaching of S. Mark."

It is now proper to say something of the famous Prester John, concerning whom so many fables were current in mediæval Europe. The general belief was, that he was a mighty king, either in Asia or Africa, who joined the sacerdotal to the regal office. Ludolf tries hard to shew that this personage ruled in Central Asia^c, as Thibet or Mongolia, and others, and recently Mr. Layard, have unhesitatingly adopted the same view, and made Prester John a Tartar monarch^d: and it is certain that, in the vast Catholicate of Chaldæa, monarchs were sometimes invested with the priestly dignity. But Renaudot^e proves, on the testimony of Abuselah, that for several ages the Emperor of Æthiopia was *ex officio* a Priest; and as unhesitatingly attributes to him the origin of this tradition. The Portuguese, on first becoming acquainted with Ethiopia, positively affirmed that this was the case.

The origin of the name, Prester John, or, as it was sometimes corrupted, Precious John, has been a *vexata questio* since the revival of letters. Scaliger invented a Persian word *Frigestiani*^f, 'the Apostolic,' of which he thought it a corruption: Golius^g imagined the Emperor of Ethiopia to have been called by the Eastern merchants *Prestar Khan*, 'the Lord of slaves.' Bespier^h derives the word from the Persian *Freschtch Jehan*, 'the Angel of the world.' Grieffershagⁱ, from *Prestar Khan*, in the sense of 'the Khan or Lord of the worshippers,' i. e. Christians. Renaudot contends that Prester is not

^b Hist. Alex. ii. 204.

^c Comment. Hist. Æthiop., p. 218.

^d Researches in Nineveh, i. 249.

The letter of Prester John to Alexius Comnenus is a very clumsy forgery.

^e Hist. Pat. Alex., p. 338.

^f De Emendat. Temp. vii.

^g Not. ad Alferg., p. 89.

^h L'etat present de l'Emp. Ottom. i. 91.

ⁱ Quoted, as the others are, by Ludolf, p. 239.

a corruption at all, and John the proper name of some emperor of Ethiopia^k. I do not pretend to offer any opinion on the subject.

Though there was in Egypt, as in all other parts of the Roman Empire, a civil division into provinces, yet, as the Church did not follow that regulation, I shall content myself with an alphabetical list of such Bishopricks as are known to have existed.

ADULE.	DIOSPOLIS (in ÆGYPTUS II ^a .)
ANDRONOPOLIS.	DYSTHIS.
ANTINOE.	KRYTHUM.
ANTIPHRA.	GERHA.
ANTIPIRGUS.	GIRGE.
APENÆUM.	HELIOPOLIS.
APHRODITOPOLIS.	HEPHESTUS.
APOLLONIA.	HERACLEA MAGNA.
ARCHA.	HERMONTIS.
ARSINOE.	HERMOPOLIS MAGNA.
ATHEIBIS.	HERMOPOLIS PARVA.
AUGILA.	HYPSELE.
AULÆOPOLIS.	LATOPOLIS (in ÆGYPTUS I ^a .)
BABYLON.	LATOPOLIS (in THEBAIS II ^a .)
BARA.	LEMNANDUS.
BARCE.	LEONTOPOLIS.
BERENICE.	LYCOPOLIS.
BILBEIS.	MARBOTIS.
BORÆUM.	MARMARICA.
BURASTUS.	MAXIMIANOPOLIS.
BUSIRIS.	MEMPHIS.
CABASA.	MENELAIS.
CASSIUM.	METELIS.
CLEOPATREIS.	NAUCEATIS.
CLYSMA.	NICIUS.
COPRITHIS.	NILOPOLIS.
COPTUS.	OASIS MAGNA.
CUSÆ.	OMBL.
CYNOPOLIS INFERIOR.	ONUPHIS.
CYNOPOLIS SUPERIOR.	OSTRACINE.
CYRENE.	OXYRYNCHUS.
DAMIETTA.	PACHNAMUNIS.
DARDANIS.	PALÆBISCA.
DIOSPOLIS PARVA.	PANEPHYSUS.

^k Hist. Pat. Alex. 223.

PANOPOLIS.	SETHRGETE.
PARÆTONIUM.	SOZYRA.
PARALUS.	SYENE.
PELUSIUM.	TAMIATHA.
PERLECIS.	TANIS.
PHACUSA.	TAUA.
PHARRÆTHUS.	TENTYRA.
PHRAGONES.	TERENUTHIS.
PTHENOTH.	TEUCHYRA.
PSYNCUS.	THEBÆ, or DIOSPOLIS MAGNA.
PTOLEMAIS.	THEBÆ ?
PTOLEMAIS-ON-NILE.	THENNESUS.
RHINOCORURA.	THEODOSIOPOLIS.
SAIS.	THMUIS.
SCENE MANDRARUM.	TONNESIS.
SCHEDIA.	XOIS.
SEBENNYTUS.	ZAGYLIS.
SELA.	ZYGRIS.

Besides these, the Catholicos of Æthiopia, of whom I have spoken more particularly in another part of this work, with his seven Bishops, was subject to the See of Alexandria. So also was the Metropolitan of Dunkala, or Nubia, who is said to have had three or four Bishops under him. The Homeritæ also, on the Arabian side of the Red Sea, appear to have been from the earliest ages supplied with Bishops from Alexandria; and when the city had been destroyed, and the greater part of its inhabitants slain, by Dunaan, King of the Jews, S. Elesbaan, Emperor of Æthiopia, who cut off that tyrant, obtained another Bishop, by name John, from Alexandria, for the Christians in those parts. They afterwards, however, fell away to Nestorianism, and gave themselves up to the Catholicos of Chaldæa: but their Christianity must have been little more than nominal. For when the conquests of Mahomet were beginning to excite attention, Abulhareth, then Bishop of Nagra, was dispatched by his people to the Impostor, for the purpose of discovering who he really was. The Prelate appears to have been not dissatisfied with his investigation, for, on his return, he forbade his flock to curse Mahomet or his religion.

The Sees existing in the Catholic Patriarchate of Alexandria were in 1672 reduced to four.

1. *ÆTHIOPIA*, which was merely honorary.
2. *CAIRO*.
3. *DAMIETTA*.
4. *ROSETTA*.

According to the modern use of the Oriental Church these Prelates were styled Metropolitans.

But now there is no Bishop except the Patriarch¹.

The Jacobites have retained a larger number of Sees. In 1687 they stood thus, according to Wansleb's account,

1. *NEGGADEL*.
2. *GIRGE*,
ABUTEG,
SIOUT, the ancient *LYCOPOLIS*, } united.
3. *MANFALOUT*.
4. *KOSKAM*, the ancient *APOLLONIA*.
5. *MELAVE*, } united.
MINIYEH, }
6. *BEHNESE*, the ancient *OXYRYNCHUS*.
7. *ATTIEH*.
8. *TAHHA*,
ASCHUMIN, the ancient *HERMOPOLIS MAGNA*, } united.
9. *FAYOUM*, the ancient *ARSINOE*.
10. *BILBEIS*,
MANSOURAH, } united.
DAMIETTA, }
11. *MENUF*, the ancient *MEMPHIS*,
BEHETRE, } united.
ALEXANDRIA, }

In this list no Bishop of Cairo is mentioned, because the Patriarch resides there. The Bishop of Alexandria, so called, appears to have been a kind of vicar of the Patriarch, who united that charge with the Sees of Menuf and Behetre.

In 1844 the Bishopricks stood thus ;

1. *MENOUFÉYEH*, or the district *MENOUF*. The name of the Bishop, *Sarabamann*.

2. *SHERKÉYEH*, or the East ; called also *KEYAMET*, or the Resurrection, and *KOUDSS*, the Holy City. See Hist. Alexand. ii. 300. His Diocese, besides that part of it which is in Asia, as there related, includes all the

¹ So I am positively informed in a letter from Egypt, written in the summer of 1844. Dr. Walsh (Constantinople, ii. 373) says that the Patriarch of Alexandria has still three titular Bishops, who compose his court. If so, they are quite unknown in their own Dioceses.

eastern part of Egypt, and he has the precedence next after the Metran of Abyssinia. The proper place of this Bishop's residence is Jerusalem, but the present Prelate, Ibrahim, resides at Cairo.

3. BEHNESE. The name of the present Bishop, Isaac.

4. FAYOUM. The Bishoprick, in 1844, was vacant, and was administered by the Bishop of Behnese.

5. MINIEH. The present Bishop, James.

6. SENABAU. This place appears to have been erected into a Bishoprick since the time of Wansleb. It lies to the south of MINIEH. The present Bishop, Joseph.

7. MANFALOUT. The present Bishop, Athanasius.

8. SIOUT. The inhabitants of this town are chiefly Copts. The present Bishop, Macarius.

9. ABUTEG. This See has been again separated from the preceding. The present Bishop, Athanasius.

10. ASCHUMIN. The present Bishop, Joseph.

11. ESNE. This has been erected into a Bishoprick, it would seem, within the last century and a half. It is an important place, being the emporium of the Abyssinian trade. Present Bishop, Macarius.

12. KAUSSE, and NEKADA, united. These places seem unknown to our maps, but are on the southern boundary of Egypt. The Copts here are better educated than in any other portion of the Patriarchate: and the Coptic language is generally spoken, whereas not above two persons understand it in Cairo. The present Bishop, Ibrahim.

13. KHARTOON. This Bishoprick has only been erected nine years, and embraces the whole of Nubia. Khartoun is a new town, at the junction of the White and Blue Nile. There are usually about seven Priests in Nubia, and about fifty resident Copts, a number sometimes augmented by the influx of travellers to one hundred.

Thus it will be seen that this Communion has gained ground since the days of Wansleb. It has increased its Bishops from ten to twelve, and has endeavoured, by the appointment of a thirteenth to Nubia, to revindicate that country to itself.

The Patriarch resides at Cairo. The office is not an object of ambition. He is chosen by lot in a Council of all the Bishops, from those monks who are recommended by the four Convents, which have the privilege of nominating. These are, that of S. Anthony, Ambabaula, Ambabishoui, and Ambamacha. The person so chosen is compelled to accept the Patriarchate, and is still, according to ancient

custom, brought in chains to receive it. The Patriarch and all the Bishops are supported by a head tax, to which the poorest Copts contribute a piastre, and others in proportion; as also by certain fees of office. The Patriarch has all the effects of a deceased Bishop. The Coptic is perhaps the only Communion of modern days where translations are not allowed.

At Alexandria there is one Coptic church, which occupies the site of S. Mark's martyrdom, and of which I shall hereafter give a ground-plan. The head of the Evangelist is said to be preserved there, the body being at Venice.

The Liturgy is performed on Sundays; as also on Wednesdays and Fridays, unless, according to the ancient use of Alexandria, the Dry Office is then said. On the other days of the week there is no office. To the Church are attached one Priest and three Deacons; when there is no person qualified to take the office of Deacon, a competent layman undertakes its duties. A school is attached to the Church, which is attended by the Deacons in turn. The number of Copts in Alexandria is estimated at 1500; of these 900 are employed in the dock-yard.

The extreme suspicion of the Catholics in Egypt will not allow me to furnish any particulars of equal minuteness respecting them.

There are but three monasteries belonging to the Catholic Church in Egypt: one in Alexandria: S. George, at Old Cairo: S. Catherine, in the desert near Cairo.

The Coptic monasteries are more numerous; the following is, I believe, a correct list of them.

LIST OF THE COPTIC MONASTERIES IN EGYPT.

In Alexandria, and in Lower Egypt.

- | | |
|-------------------------------|--------------------|
| 1. Mar Marcus the Evangelist. | 6. Abou Rouees. |
| 2. S. Macarius. | 7. S. Michael. |
| 3. Beysheuy il Hey. | 8. S. Mary. |
| 4. S. Mary. | 9. The two Swords. |
| 5. S. Damian. | |

In and near Cairo.

- | | |
|---|--------------------------------|
| 10. S. George. | 13. The two Swords. |
| 11. S. George, (the second.) | 14. S. John the Wonder-worker. |
| 12. Aboukeer and Youhanna,
(SS. Cyrus and John.) | 15. SS. Cosmas and Damian. |

In Upper Egypt.

- | | |
|-------------------------------|------------------------|
| 16. S. Mary. | 22. S. Antony. |
| 17. S. Michael. | 23. Antabouleh. |
| 18. S. Mary. | 24. S. Michael. |
| 19. S. John. | 25. Bersaun il Areyan. |
| 20. Abou Faneh il Gindey. | 26. S. Theodore. |
| 21. Abou Ischaroon il Killey. | |

The Patriarch of Alexandria, besides the usual Metropolitical robes, assumes a cap, which is not worn by any of his brethren.

The constant connexion, in earlier ages, between Alexandria and Rome, and the remarkable points of similarity between the two, have been pointed out in the History of that Patriarchate.

I have not yet received an official account of the present Ethiopic Church. Should it reach me in time, it shall be given in an Appendix.

CHAPTER VI.

PATRIARCHATE OF ANTIOCH.

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I AM now to write of the Diocese of Antioch. S. Luke, himself a native of that city, relates^a that in the persecution consequent on the death of S. Stephen, some Cyprian and Cyrenian disciples, arriving at Antioch, broke through the rule which had up to that time been laid down by the Church, and preached to the Pagans as well as to the Jews. Their success proved the divine approbation, and the Church of Jerusalem, on hearing the tidings, dispatched S. Barnabas to watch over the new converts. From thence he proceeded to Tarsus and associated S. Paul in his labours; and returning into Syria, they taught with such success that the "disciples were called Christians first in Antioch." Very shortly after this, (the precise date I shall have a more proper opportunity of examining,) S. Peter founded the See of Antioch; and on leaving it for Rome, ordained S. Euodius his first successor^b, who was himself followed by the glorious martyr S. Ignatius.

As Alexandria seems to have had a natural bond of union with Rome, so Antioch was the firm ally of Constantinople. The first blow which was given to the authority of the See was the election of S. Flavian by the Council of Constantinople as successor of S. Meletius, in place of Paulinus, who became, by the death of Meletius, the legitimate possessor of S. Peter's Eastern Chair. And the same thing occurred again, when Maximus, contrary to the Canons, and to the great indigna-

^a Acts xi. 19.

^b Euseb. H. E. iii. 22; Jo. Malelas. 10.

tion of S. Leo^c, was ordained Bishop of Antioch by Anatolius at Constantinople. Interference, however, from other quarters Antioch did not so easily brook ; and Theodoret complained of Dioscorus, the successor of S. Mark, that he affected the right of interference with the Chair of S. Mark's Master.

Antioch, perhaps, drank more deeply of the cup of persecution and discord than any other of the Patriarchal Sees. She was the first among them whose Patriarch turned aside to heresy, and was deposed, in the person of Paul of Samosata. Then followed the eighty years' schism, firstly occasioned by the Arians, and continued in what may be called the High and Low Catholic parties, respectively headed by Paulinus and Meletius. Still later, Nestorianism swallowed up the Catholicate of Chaldæa, which was, in a manner, dependent on Antioch. After that, in the latter years of the fifth century, Peter the Fuller laid the foundation of the Monophysite Patriarchs of Antioch, who, like those of Alexandria, continue to this day, though at present resident in Diarbekr. After its sack by Chosroes, King of Persia, an event from which the city never recovered, the See was vacant for thirty years ; and when again filled with a pastor, he led almost the whole of his Diocese into the Monothelite heresy. His successor, Macarius, was deposed for the same heresy by the sixth Œcumenical Council. The condition of the Church after this time was deplorable : the Saracens in possession of nearly the whole Diocese : heresy in two forms rampant : the Patriarch resident at Constantinople : and Rome interfering to appoint the Bishop of Philadelphia Vicar-General in those regions. It appears that many persons were of opinion, either that the Patriarchs of Antioch and Jerusalem should be compelled to return to their Dioceses, or that their seats should be transferred elsewhere. The latter advice was perhaps, the soundest, but the laxity of a corrupt age prevailed, and Theodore Balsamon was a strenuous advocate of the license.

It appears, however, that the Patriarchs of Antioch did sometimes reside in their own city. During its siege by the Crusaders, John IV.^d, within the walls, played the man for

^c S. Leo, Epist. 118.

^d Ordericus Vitalis, p. 796.

his Church, and won the admiration of all. On the capture of Antioch, June 28, 1098, he was honourably, by the Latin Ecclesiastics, reinstated in his dignity; he quitted it, however, in two years: "finding," says William of Tyre, in somewhat ambiguous phrase, "that he, as a Greek, could not with sufficient utility preside over Latins, he retired to Constantinople." Then the Latin succession of Patriarchs commenced, and, like their brethren, stooped to request the pall from the hands of the Pope; for taking it himself from his own altar, Ralph of Antioch had to beg pardon at Rome.

That succession lasted effectively till Antioch again fell into the hands of the Infidels, and nominally till the present day. At this time Antioch has fallen lower than any of her sisters. The city itself has a population, under the name of Antäke, of about 10,000, but there are only 150 Christian families, and they have not, or had not till lately, in spite of many efforts, a Church*. The Patriarch resides at Damascus, the Latin Antipatriarch at Aleppo; and the Antiochene Church loses yearly, out of her few and scattered members, more and more to the indefatigable envoys of Rome†.

Of the extent of the Diocese of Antioch it will be necessary to say little. In the earlier ages the Catholicate of Chaldæa was, as it were, a vicarial jurisdiction of the See of Antioch, in the same manner that the Metran of Ethiopia was dependent on that of Alexandria. But when the Catholicos embraced Nestorianism, that link was broken. The Diocese of Iberia was transferred from the jurisdiction of Antioch to that of Constantinople in the manner before described. The island of Cyprus, which had formerly been in the Antiochene Diocese, was (it seems under a false impression) declared autocephalous by the Council of Ephesus, at a time when John of Antioch, through his support of, and presence at, the

* Buckingham's Arab Tribes, p. 558.

† His present Holiness, Methodius, an eminently energetic Prelate, is endeavouring to raise a fund "for Establishing Schools and Printing-presses; for restoring the Church of S. Nicolas, in Damascus, and repairing other old

Churches; and for the Erection of other indispensable Christian Edifices." The publisher of this work will thankfully take charge of any subscriptions which might be offered in England for this purpose.

pseudo-Council, was not at hand to maintain his own rights ; nor, at a later period, were the efforts of Peter the Fuller to recover it successful, owing to the discovery, it is said, of the body of S. Barnabas on the island ; which seemed, as it was thought, to mark it out as an Apostolic and autocephalous Church. The jealousy of the Persian monarchs severed the connexion between their Christian subjects and the Patriarchal Chair. In the time of its glory, Antioch seems to have had about 250 suffragan Sees : in the First Crusade, William of Tyre informs us that there were 158 : there would now appear to be less than 20.

The power of Antioch over its Diocese was limited : the Patriarch had the right of consecrating Bishops in his own province only, as Metropolitan ; and though he ordained the Metropolitans of all his provinces, they consecrated their own Prelates. It would appear^f, however, that he had a veto on this consecration, and that it was usual, if he were present, that all ordinations should be performed by him.

In correctness of speech, we are assured by Theodore Balsamon^h, the Patriarch of Antioch is the only Prelate who has a claim to that title : the proper appellation of the Bishops of Rome and Alexandria being *Pope*, of Constantinople and Jerusalem, *Archbishop*.

The Metropoles of this Diocese will not call for any very extended notice.

PHœNICIA PRIMA : Metropolis, TYRE.

This See, from claiming to have been founded by S. Peter, was not only possessed of Metropolitan rights over its Province, but was Protothronus of the See of Antioch. After the capture of Jerusalem by the Crusaders, the Latin Patriarchs of that city and Antioch warmly contested the possession of Tyre. Paschal II. ordered that it should remain, as it always had been, in the Diocèse of Antioch. Honorius II. reversed that decree, and annexed it to Jerusalem, of which city it became Protothronus. The true possessors of the

^f S. Innocent, Ep. ad Alexand. 18.

^h Leunclav., Jus Gr. Lat. vii.

Sees, of course, paid no obedience to this change, and, with the expulsion of the Latins from Palestine, Tyre returned to its original obedience.

PHœNICIA SECUNDA: Metropolis, DAMASCUS.

Of this place I have nothing to observe, except that it is the ordinary residence of the Patriarchs of Antioch, and that his present Holiness, Methodius, is making strenuous efforts to restore the Church of S. Nicolas, and to build schools and a printing press in the city.

ARABIA: Metropolis, BOSTRA.

This was a dependent of Antioch till the time of the Fifth Œcumenical Council; then it was annexed to Jerusalem, Vigilius of Rome giving his assent¹.

We need only further notice

OSRHœNE: Metropolis, EDESSA.

The Gospel was here preached by S. Thaddæus, and, if we believe Eusebius, as early as A.D. 43. It is to the eternal honour of this city that Julian the Apostate, on his Persian expedition, avoided Edessa because it was wholly Christian. We shall continually refer to the celebrated school at Edessa, which remained firm against the Arian heresy, but gave way to Nestorianism about the time of Zeno.

CYPRUS.

Autocephalous Metropolis, CONSTANTIA, (=SALAMIS.)

S. Luke has recorded the foundation of the Church in Cyprus by SS. Paul and Barnabas, (the latter a Cyprian,) through the blindness of Elymas, and the conversion of Sergius Paulus. On the separation of the two saints, S. Barnabas, accompanied by S. John Mark, sailed for Cyprus, and there, after consecrating Heraclides Bishop, suffered a glorious martyrdom. The Archiepiscopal See was fixed at Sala-

¹ William of Tyre, xiv. 14.

mis, afterwards Constantia, and the Patriarchs of Antioch attempted, in process of time, to vindicate the consecration of this Prelate to themselves. The attempt was stoutly resisted in the Council of Ephesus, as I have already related. Constantia was ruined by the Saracens, and Justinian II. made a treaty with the barbarians, surrendering part of the island, and stipulating to retain the other part. They violated the agreement, and he then removed all the Christian inhabitants who wished it to Cyzicus, which he invested with the precedence of Constantia; and this arrangement was ratified by the thirty-ninth Canon of the Council *in Trullo*. The Christians who remained kept up their succession of Bishops; and, it would appear under Leo the Isaurian, the Archbishoprick of Constantia was restored, the Archbishop retaining the title, but residing at Famagousta.

When Richard expelled Isaac from the island, and made Guy Lusignan king in his stead, a Latin Archbishop was seated at Nicosia, the ancient Ledra. The two Prelates disputed precedence, and Celestine III., and after him Innocent III., of course took the part of the intruder. This irritated the Greeks, and finally Alexander IV. decreed that on the death of Germanus, then Greek Archbishop of Cyprus,—an event which took place subsequently to 1274,—both Churches should be subject to the Latin Archbishop of Nicosia; and this arrangement continued in force till the Turks, in 1570, wrested Cyprus from the Venetians, on which the Greeks recovered their autocephalous Archbishop, and still retain him. He depends on no external Ecclesiastical authority, calls himself *Most Blessed Despot*, signs with red ink^{*}, wears the purple, and holds a sceptre instead of a pastoral staff.

It is an unusual proof of liberality in Etienne de Salignac, who lived from 1210 to 1290, to say, in his *Itinerarium*, that the Cyprian Greeks were not to be blamed for differing in rites from the Roman Church; for it is absurd, remarks he, to assert, that the being a member of that Church is essential to salvation.

^{*} Walsh, Constantinople, ii. 371.

CHAPTER VII.

**NOTITIA OF THE ANCIENT AND MODERN SEES OF
THE DIOCESE OF ANTIOCH,**

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NOTITIA OF THE ANCIENT AND MODERN SEES OF THE DIOECESSE OF ANTIOCH.

SYRIA PRIMA.

<i>Ancient.</i>	<i>Modern.</i>
ANTIOCH, Metropolis.	ANTIOCH, Metropolis.
SELEUCIA PIERIA.	
BERRHCEA.	ALEPPO, (= BERRHCEA,) Metro-
CHALCIS.	polis.
ANASARTHA.	
GABBA.	
GINDABUS.	
LAODICEA ^a .	LAODICEA, Archbishoprick.
GABALA.	
PALTUS.	
	ARCADIA, Archbishoprick.

PHENICIA PRIMA.

TYRE, Metropolis.	TYRE and SIDON, Metropolis.
SIDON.	
PTOLEMAIS.	ACRE, Metropolis. (Now in the
	Patriarchate of Jerusalem.)
BERYTUS ^b .	BEYROUT, Archbishoprick.
BYBLUS.	
TRIPOLIS.	TRIPOLIS, Archbishoprick.
ARCE.	
ORTHOSIAS.	
BOTRYS.	

^a This was made by Justinian the Metropolis of his new province of Theodorias, and had as suffragans, Gabala, Balanæa, Paltus.

^b Theodosius Junior made this a

Metropolis, assigning to it Byblus, Botrys, Tripolis, Orthosias, Arce, Antaradus. *Agathias*, III. 51. But this arrangement was shortly afterwards disallowed in a Council at Constantinople.

*Ancient.**Modern.*

ARADUS^c,
 PORPHYREON.
 PANEAS = CÆSAREA PHILIPPI = DAN.
 RACHLENA.
 ANTARADUS.
Gegarta.
Gonasitium.
Tricris.

PHŒNICIA SECUNDA.

DAMASCUS, Metropolis and Protosyncellus.
 EMESA^d. EMESA, Archbishoprick.
 LAODICEA LIBANI.
 HELIOPOLIS. HELIOPOLIS and MOUNT LEBANON, Metropolis.
 ABILA.
 JABRUDA.
 PALMYRA.
 DANABA.
 ALALIS.
 EUABIA.
 CHARRAN.
 ABIDA.
 CORADA.
 THE SARACENS.
Maglyda.
Salus Gonaticus.
Salamias.
Clima Orientale.

ARABIA^e.

BOSTRA, Metropolis.
 ADRAA.
 MEDABA.
 GERASA.
 PHILIPPOLIS.
 PHILADELPHIA^f = RABBATH AMMON. PHILADELPHIA, (belongs to Jerusalem.)

^c Afterwards united with Antaradus.

^d This, in Schelstrate's Notitia is named the Metropolis of Phœnicia Secunda. It is celebrated, in modern times, under the name of Homs, for the defeat of Husseyin Pasha by Ibrahim Pasha, in 1832.

^e This Province was, as we have said, annexed to the Diocese of Jerusalem by the fifth Œcumenical Council.

^f Annexed to Palestine since the days of S. Sophronius.

Ancient.

Modern.

NEVE.
 ESEBUS.
 NEAPOLIS.
 DIONYSIAS.
 ERRA.
 CONSTANTIA.
 CANATHA.
 MAXIMIANOPOLIS.
 CHRYSOPOLIS.
 Dia.
 Phenutus.
 Pentacomia.
 Tricomia.
 Bataneus.
 Exacomia.
 Enacomia.
 Gonias.
 Cherus.
 Stane.
 Cabera.
 Coreatha.
 Capri.
 Pyrgoarea.
 Setne.
 Neotes.
 Ariatha.
 Bobdamus.
 Clima.
 ENUS.
 EUTIMIA.

These places are extremely doubtful.

CILICIA PRIMA.

TARSUS, Metropolis.
 POMPEIOPOLIS.
 SEBASTE.
 AUGUSTA.
 CORYCUS.
 ADANA.
 MALLUS.
 ZEPHYRIUM.

ADANA, Archbishoprick.

CILICIA SECUNDA.

ANAZARBUS, Metropolis.

<i>Ancient.</i>	<i>Modern.</i>
MOPSUESTIA.	
ÆGÆ.	
EPIPHANIA.	
IRENOPOLIS.	
FLAVIAS.	
CASTABALA.	
ALEXANDRIA.	
CITIDIOPOLIS.	
RHOSUS.	
<i>Cabissus.</i>	

SYRIA SECUNDA.

APAMEA, Metropolis.	
ARETHUSA.	
EPIPHANIA.	EPIPHANIA, Archbishoprick.
LARISSA.	
MARIAMNE.	
SELEUCOBELUS.	
RAPHANÆA.	
BALANÆA.	

EUPHRATENSIS.

HIERAPOLIS, Metropolis.
CYRRHUS.
SAMOSATA*.
DOLICHE.
GERMANICIA.
ZEUGMA.
PERRHA.
EUROPUS.
URIMA.
NEOCÆSAREA.
BARRALISSUS.
SURA.
SERGIOPOLIS.
MARIANOPOLIS.
<i>Nicopolis.</i>
<i>Schenarchia.</i>
<i>Santon.</i>

OSRHÖENE.

EDDESSA, Metropolis.

* United to Amida in the ninth century.

*Ancient.**Modern.*

CONSTANTINA.

CALLINICUS.

BATNÆ.

CHARRÆ.

CIRCESIUM.

RHÆSINA = THEODOSIOPOLIS.

MARCOPOLIS.

DAUSARA.

HIMERIUS.

NOVA VALENTIA.

MACEDONOPOLIS.

BIRTHA.

*Monothilla.**Therimachon.**Monianga.**Macarta.*

MESOPOTAMIA.

AMIDA, Metropolis.

NISIBIS.

DARAS.

MARTYROPOLIS.

SOPHENE.

CASCHARA.

BEZABDE.

ARSAMOSATA.

CASTRUM CEPHÆ.

VOLOGESOCERTA.

CONSTANTIA.

INGILA.

SINGARA.

MARONOPOLIS.

Afterwards annexed to the Catholicate of CHALDEA.

The Notitiæ give thirty-one more Sees, but the places are so obscure, and the names so corrupt, that it is useless to particularize them.

ISAURIA.

SELEUCIA, Metropolis.

CELENDERIS.

ANEMURIUM.

LAMUS.

ANTIOCH.

SELEUCIA^a, Archbishoprick.

^a I am not absolutely certain that this is not Seleucia Pieria.

*Ancient.**Modern.*

SELENUS.
 JOTAFÉ.
 DIOCESAREA.
 LEONTOPOLIS.
 PHILADELPHIA.
 DOMITIOPOLIS.
 NEPHELI.
 TITIOPOLIS.
 HIERAPOLIS.
 CESTRUS.
 DALISANDUS.
 CLAUDIOPOLIS.
 GERMANICOPOLIS.
 SBIDE.
 SEBASTIA.
 IRENOPOLIS.
 OLBE.
 ADRASSUS.
 COTRADA.
 MUSEBADA.
 ZENOPOLIS.
 SILVUM.
 IBIDINGE.
 CARDABUNTHUS.
 ZOROPASSA.
Meloe.
Nauasadea.
Cassa.
Golgothus.
Benasa.

CYPRUS, Autocephalous.

SALAMIS, Metropolis.	FAMAGOUSTA, Metropolis.
CITTIUM.	
CURTIUM.	PISCOPA.
TAMASSUS.	
PAPHOS.	BAFO.
NEAPOLIS.	NEAPOLIS.
AMATHUS.	LIMASOL.
ARSINOE.	
LAFITHUS.	
CARPASIA.	
CHYTUS.	
TRIMITHUS.	

*Ancient.**Modern.*

SOLI.

CERAUNIA.

THEODOSIANA.

LEBDA.

NICOSIA. (This was the Latin
Archbishoprick.)

The modern Sees are taken from a pamphlet published at S. Petersburg, in 1844, by His Holiness Neophytus, Metropolitan of Heliopolis and Mount Lebanon, when he went to solicit alms for his Church. Damascus has no Metropolitan, because the Patriarch resides there.

There are 25,836 Orthodox families in the Diocese.

CHAPTER VIII.

DEPENDENCIES OR OFFSHOOTS OF ANTIOCH.

THE CATHOLICATE OF CHALDÆA.

THE CHRISTIANS OF S. THOMAS.

THE JACOBITE PATRIARCHATE AND MAPHRIANATE.

THE MARONITE CHURCH.



CHAPTER VIII.

DEPENDENCIES OR OFFSHOOTS OF ANTIOCH.

It will now be necessary to write of the Catholicate of Chaldæa. It would appear that Thaddæus, or Adæus, one of the seventy disciples, was commissioned by S. Thomas to preach the Gospel in these regions, and that he did so, in company with two companions, Maris and Achis; all three are reckoned by the Church of Chaldæa as Apostles. The rapid increase and successive persecutions of the Christians in Persia are well known. The care of the faithful naturally fell, in the first instance, to the Patriarch of Antioch: but the Bishop of Seleucia acted as his deputy in the regions of Parthia: still, however, that Prelate was obliged to come to Antioch for consecration. It happened, however, that Ahad Abouia, the seventh Bishop, having been consecrated at that city, its Patriarch was accused to the government as guilty of treason: to prevent such an occurrence for the future, the See of Antioch allowed that of Seleucia to consecrate its own Prelates, who were thenceforward called *Catholici*, i. e. *Procurators-General*, of Antioch. Schahlufa was the first Prelate thus invested with a quasi-Patriarchal dignity.

The successors of Schahlufa were, for the most part, men of deep piety, and great attainments; and some, like S. Simeon and S. Sadost, have left a name which is famous in the Church. After the martyrdom of the successor of the latter, S. Barbasinas, the See was vacant twenty years; and it would seem that, in this period, corruption began to creep in. The school of Edessa, which afterwards produced Ibas, even then began to infect the Priests and Prelates of the neighbouring provinces, though as yet uncondemned by the Church: simony also was prevalent, as we find Dadjesus, the twentieth

Catholic, vigorously opposing it. His successor, Babuæus, originally a heathen, and of notoriously bad character, was won over to Nestorianism by Barsumas, Metropolitan of Nisibis : this man further prevailed on him to allow marriage to his Bishops, Priests, and Monks, and himself set the example by wedding a nun. On this, the Catholicos was excommunicated by the See of Antioch. He sent letters of apology thither by two of his Monks. As they were passing through Nisibis, Barsumas prevailed on them to give him the epistle, and he laid it before Feroot, then King of Persia. As the expression occurred in it, "the impious rule of the Persians," that monarch tortured Babuæus to death ; but his successor, Acacius, was a yet more determined Nestorian. Babuæus, who then ascended the throne of Seleucia, was married, and so ignorant that he could not read ; he compelled his clergy to marry. Silas, his successor, wasted the goods of the Church on his family, and nominated a physician, his son-in-law, to succeed him. The state of the Church was wretched ; Catholics were severely persecuted, for the Persian Kings were always more favourable to Nestorians, as believing them to deny the True Divinity of our Lord.

Mar Aba, about the year 540, though an inveterate Nestorian, assembled a Council, and forbade that the Patriarch or any Bishop should marry. Thenceforward Nestorianism took deeper and deeper root. In the words of Gibbon, it "was successfully preached to the Bactrians, the Huns, the Persians, the Indians, the Persarmenians, the Medes, the Elamites ; the barbaric Churches from the Gulf of Persia to the Caspian Sea were almost infinite ; and their recent faith was conspicuous in the number and sanctity of their Monks and Martyrs. The pepper-coast of Malabar and the Isles of the Ocean, Zocotra and Ceylon, were peopled with an increasing multitude of Christians. The missionaries of Balkh and Samarcand pursued without fear the footsteps of the roving Tartar, and insinuated themselves into the camp of the valleys of the Imaus, and the banks of the Selinga."

Dropping the more humble title of Catholicos of Seleucia, these Prelates assumed to themselves that of Patriarch of Babylon. After the destruction of Seleucia and Ctesiphon,

they removed to Bagdad, and subsequently to Mosul, a town near the ruins of ancient Nineveh, whence they also take their title.

The power of the Nestorian Patriarch culminated in the beginning of the eleventh century. He had, as we have seen, twenty-five Metropolitans, who ruled from China to the Tigris, from the Lake Baikal to Cape Comorin. Those who dwelt nearest to Bagdad met the Catholicos in yearly synod; those furthest sent their confession of Faith to him every sixth year. It may be doubted whether Innocent III. possessed more spiritual power than the Patriarch in the city of the Caliphs.

When Hulaku Khan led forth his hordes, A.D. 1258, the Metropolitan of Samarcand sent an express to the Catholicos with the intelligence: and he was the first to warn the feeble Mocasem of the approaching fall of Bagdad.

Thenceforward the Nestorians rapidly fell. After sustaining a severe persecution from Kassan Khan, they were nearly extirpated by the monster Tamerlane. The Patriarch removed his seat to the valley of Julamerik, in Kurdistan, and there, surrounded by his little flock, maintained a kind of independence, paying a tribute to the Porte, and occasionally harassed by the predatory warfare of the Kurds and Yezidees, or devil-worshippers. In an evil hour American missionaries arrived amongst them; their conduct aroused suspicion; the Kurds, under the merciless Beder Khan Bey, perpetrated those two massacres of the Nestorians which filled Europe with horror^a. The Patriarch, Mar Simon, escaped, and is now busily engaged in re-constructing his Church.

It appears, that about the year 1460, Simeon I. restricted the succession of Patriarchs to his own family; and, with one exception, the succeeding Catholicos had the same name till the accession of Simeon Bar Mama, in the middle of the sixteenth century: his openly flagitious life disgusted his people, and a large body of them came to the resolution of applying to Rome for a Prelate. They elected John Sulaca, Abbat of the Monastery of Rabban Hormuzd, near Alkosh,

^a A good idea of the state of the Nestorians before the massacres will be formed from Dr. Grant's work; many particulars of the massacres themselves

from Mr. Layard's Nineveh. A detailed account of them has yet to be written.

The Church, thus founded in the blood of S. Thomas, continued for many centuries to flourish. One of the Bishops at the Council of Nicæa signs himself Prelate of Persia and the Great India. But, in process of time, Meliapour was besieged and taken by a foreign invader: a severe persecution was the consequence, and the Christians were compelled to save themselves by flight. Many of them took refuge in the Highlands of Cape Comorin; others fled to Cranganor, Coulan, and Travancore, thus strengthening the Churches which S. Thomas had founded in those districts. From this time the united Church became known by the name of that of MALABAR.

The arrival of a merchant from Syria of great reputation, named Mar Thomas, exercised, though the date of the event is uncertain, a very material influence over the Christians of Malabar. Some place this occurrence as late as A.D. 900; some throw it back as early as 500; but, whenever it took place, the fact itself is certain. This man, partly from his virtues, partly from his riches, and partly perhaps from the identity of his name with that of the Apostle their founder, exercised so much influence among the natives as to persuade them, in future, to receive their Bishop from the Catholicos of the East. He thus either introduced, or opened the way for the introduction of, the Nestorian heresy. From this Mar Thomas the Christians of Malabar make it their boast to be descended; though that all should be so the greater antiquity of their Church renders impossible.

From this time the infidel Kings of Malabar vied with each other in according privileges to their Christian subjects. They took precedence of the highest pagan nobles, and in temporal, as well as spiritual matters, depended almost entirely on the will of their Bishop. Any Pagan who struck a Christian was punishable with death. In the public streets the place of honour was allowed them; they had the right of riding on elephants, a privilege shared only with them by the royal family; and they were allowed to seat themselves in the presence of the King. These privileges were confirmed and enlarged by the great monarch Cerum Peroumal, who, in 907, founded the city of Calicut, and whose memory

is regarded as divine by the Pagans on both the eastern and western coasts. It was apparently about his time that Nestorianism was introduced. It is possible that its propagators were two Syrian Bishops, Mar Sapor, or Xabro, and Mar Peroses, or Proud, who, about A.D. 880, arrived in Malabar, built many new churches, preached the Gospel in the kingdom of Diamper, to the south-east of Cochin, and were allowed by the King, on account of the respect in which he saw them held by his Christian subjects, to propagate their Faith as widely as they pleased. Their names are solemnly commemorated in the Calendar of Malabar, and many churches were dedicated in their honour.

The privileges and immunities bestowed on the Christians rendered them at length so powerful, that they were enabled to throw off the yoke of a Pagan government, and to elect a King from among themselves. How far they were justified in thus bidding defiance to the powers set over them, the distance of time, and the obscurity of the history, renders it impossible for us to say. All we know is, that the first of these Monarchs was called Baliart, and that he assumed the title of *King of the Christians of S. Thomas*. His descendants, for several generations, succeeded him, until at length one of them, having adopted as his son the Pagan King of Diamper, died without children, and the government of the Christians was quietly transferred to a heathen Prince. At a subsequent period the King of Cochin succeeded to the rights of the King of Diamper, and under him the greater part of the native Christians considered themselves to be when the Portuguese first visited India.

Some time after Mar Thomas had persuaded the Church of Malabar to submit itself to the Catholicos of Persia, its dependance on those Prelates was strongly tested. It appears that its Bishops and Ecclesiastics had, whether by foreign invasion or by plague, been cut off, so that only one Deacon remained. This man was compelled by force to administer the Sacraments, and perform all other Sacerdotal functions, till a new succession of Prelates could be obtained from Mosul. The Catholicos consecrated three, one for the island of Zocotra, one for South China, and the third for Malabar.

The two latter were, however, dissatisfied with their position, and soon returned.

Passing over the pretended submission of John, one of the succeeding Bishops, to the See of Rome, in 1122, as probably fabulous, and finding no other events of sufficient importance to be noticed, the Portuguese having ignorantly burnt all the records of the Diocese as heretical, we come next to the discovery of Malabar by that nation. But it will first be proper to notice the state of the native Church at that period.

The Christians were easily to be distinguished from the natives by their superior grace, polish, and refinement. They were divided into two branches, or families, the Southern and the Northern; the former, though possessing by far the fewer churches, were considered the more noble, and did not use the ministrations of the Ecclesiastics of the latter. This division was explained by the belief (though, it appears, without foundation) that the Northern Christians were descended from the illegitimate, the Southern from the legitimate, children of that Mar Thomas of whom we have before spoken.

Each of these tribes, however, entertained the utmost goodwill for the other. The natives of each division were distinguished by their industry, their natural parts, the elegance of their discourse, their employment of fables and proverbs, their respect for their fathers, mothers, elder brothers, and Ecclesiastics, in whose presence they never, but when commanded, ventured to sit down, nor, when seated, to rise without leave, their curiosity, their addiction to omens and prodigies, their belief in Wednesday and Friday as unlucky days, and the purity of their lives, in which latter particular they were advantageously contrasted by their heathen neighbours. The men wore no other clothing than a kind of tunic of white stuff, excepting in the presence of their Bishop, of an Indian Prince, or in church, when their dress was a kind of surplice, embroidered on the sides and at the back. The hair was worn long, except by those who had attained old age, those who had taken a vow of celibacy, and those who had visited the shrine of S. Thomas at Meliampur. The men were always armed, yet quarrels were seldom, and murders never heard of; a circumstance which, by the force

of contrast, deeply impressed their Portuguese and Italian visitors. These arms were always left in the pronaos during the performance of the Divine Service. They were generally rich, and possessed a considerable number of slaves, whom they treated with the greatest kindness; they were much employed as merchants, and their honour and liberality was allowed by all. They were very abstemious, seldom tasted either meat or wine, and lived almost entirely on rice and milk. In criminal causes they were tried by the heathen monarch, in civil by their Bishop, from whom there was no appeal.

They did not employ images, although holding the Cross in great veneration. They allowed three Sacraments, Baptism, Orders, and the Holy Eucharist, knowing nothing either of Confirmation or Extreme Unction. On Thursday in Holy week the whole of the laity, without distinction of class or sex, received the Holy Eucharist. Baptism was frequently deferred till the seventh or eighth year; there was great negligence, if we may believe the Portuguese historian, in imposing it, as a matter of absolute necessity, on heathen converts; and in some cases it is said to have been invalidly administered. The Priests performed the Divine Office twice daily, at three in the morning and five in the evening. On Sundays the laity attended Mass with great devotion, though not as matter of obligation. In church the Ecclesiastics were placed in a formed chair, and their wives sat apart from the other women. They were accused, perhaps harshly, of having been simoniacal in their administration of the Sacraments; there was a fixed fee to be paid, and the revenue of the Priests principally arose from this source. Lent was observed with peculiar solemnity: all attended church daily in the morning and the evening, and many also at midnight. Advent was observed as a fast, and so were Wednesday and Friday; and all these were considered of obligation. There were other seasons of abstinence observed, of devotion only: the fast of the Assumption, which lasted from the first to the fifteenth of August; that of the Apostles, for fifty days after Pentecost; and that of the Nativity, which extended from the first of September till Christmas. Not only were the

Public Services in an unknown tongue,—at least to the vast majority of the worshippers,—but gross ignorance was occasioned by the Syriac being also employed in private prayer. Ecclesiastical discipline was extremely severe, and, by an excess of rigour approximating to Novatianism, wilful murderers, and those guilty of some other heinous crimes, were never absolved, not even in the article of death.

The whole of Malabar was under the superintendence of one Bishop, consecrated and appointed by the Catholicos of Mosul. There was no other Ecclesiastical dignitary but an Archdeacon, who assisted the Prelate, more especially in pronouncing judgment in the causes tried before him, and who supplied his place during a vacancy. The Priests were allowed to marry as often as they pleased; it was no uncommon thing to find those who had married twice or thrice; some, however, after a second marriage, abstained from officiating at the Liturgy. Their wives were distinguished by a golden or silver Cross, worn round their neck.

The first account which reached Europe of the Church of Malabar, at least since the time of Alfred the Great, who is said to have sent an embassy to the Christians of Meliapor, was brought by Pedro Alvares Cabral, the Portuguese navigator, who touched at Cranganor in the year 1501, and persuaded two of the natives to return with him to Europe. In the following year Vasco de Gama, being at Cochin, received an embassy from the Malabarese, complaining of the persecution which they suffered from their heathen neighbours, and putting themselves under the protection of His Most Faithful Majesty. The ambassadors presented the admiral with a rod, tipped at each end with silver, and adorned with three little bells at the upper end: this, they said, had been the sceptre of the Kings of their own Faith.

But more than forty years elapsed before the native Christians and the new settlers came into contact. The Metropolitan See of India was at first fixed by the Portuguese at Funchal, in Madeira, and the distance of this See, joined perhaps to the supineness of Dom Martinho de Portugal, Archbishop of Funchal, and Primate of all the Indies, who never even visited Madeira, cramped the efforts of the Indo-Portuguese Church.

But Goa having been erected into a Metropolitan See, and Dom João Albuquerque made its first Archbishop^c, Father Vincent, a Franciscan Friar, of which order the Archbishop was a member, was dispatched to Cranganor to endeavour to bring the Malabarese under the supremacy of the See of Rome.

The progress of the mission belongs to another part of our history: here we will only observe that it resulted in the famous Synod of Diamper, an assembly which by needless and vexatious alterations, abolition of ancient Oriental rites, enforcement of Latin peculiarities, rendered the native Christians so hostile to Rome, that, unable to procure a Bishop from Babylon, they threw themselves into the arms of Jacobitism, procuring Prelates from Alexandria, and sometimes from Diarbekr.

Jacobites they still remain; and the connexion between them and the agents of the (so-called) Church Missionary Society has been such as to render their adoption of the Catholic Faith from England a thing to be wished for, rather than hoped.

Dr. Buchanan's estimate made the whole Christians of S. Thomas amount to 200,000^d, by far the greater part being Roman Catholics.

The Church of China can hardly, from the obscurity which besets its annals, be considered till I write at full of it. It first received illumination under the Emperor Taicum, in A.D. 636.

JACOBITE PATRIARCHATE OF ANTIOCH.

THE Communion of which we have latterly spoken have been heretical, but can hardly be called schismatical, because

^c Though second *Bishop*, Dom Francisco de Aula having been the first.

^d In this writer's account he every where considers the un-Latinized Christians as persevering in the ancient orthodox confession of the Church of Antioch. The Missionaries reported that they were called Jacobites, as

using the Liturgy of S. James the Apostle. The confession of faith, quoted by Dr. Kerr, is pronounced orthodox, though whilst it condemns Nestorius, it condemns the "Chalcedonians" also. So gross was the ignorance of the Missionary statements.

they have constantly retained their succession, and for many centuries had no branch of the true Church co-existent with them in their own territories. The Jacobite Patriarchs of Antioch, more usually called 'of the East,' are both heretical and schismatical.

They have their origin from the notorious Severus, the father of Monophysitism, for he, on the one hand, rejected the extreme tenet of Eutyches, that the Divinity is the sole nature in CHRIST, and on the other would not, as some of the earlier Monophysite Patriarchs of Alexandria, leave the dogma of one or two natures an open question.

His equally famous disciple, Jacobus Zanzalus, Bishop of Edessa, but who assumed the title and exercised the functions of Œcumenical Archbishop, ordained one Sergius as successor to his master; and thus the heretical succession was kept up.

The Persian Kings were favourably disposed towards both Jacobites and Nestorians, on the principle of fomenting dissensions among their Christian subjects, and because they were naturally inclined to any religion which was hostile to that of Constantinople. Finding that the whole of Asia was more than the Patriarch of Antioch could possibly superintend, the indefatigable Zanzalus ordained Achudemes Maphrian of the East beyond Tigris. This word signifies fruit-bearer; and the new dignity bore the same relation to the Jacobite See of Antioch that the Catholicos of Seleucia originally did to the orthodox possessors of that Throne.

The Jacobite Patriarchs of Antioch, unable to reside in that city while it remained in the power of the Emperors, settled themselves at Amida; and in the same place, now called Caramit, they are still to be found. They also pass much of their time in the Monastery of S. Ananias, near Mardin. The Maphrians had at first no fixed See, but since the fourth in succession they have been established at Tagrits, and since this See has coalesced with that of Mosul, at the latter place. The Patriarch has invariably, since the end of the sixteenth century, taken the name of Ignatius. The Maphrians are now only nominally distinguished from the other Metropolitans.

In 1646 a defection took place from the Jacobite Patriarch, and one Andrew, after being admitted to the Communion of Rome, began another succession. These Patriarchs style themselves Patriarchs of Aleppo.

To form any idea of the number of Christians subject to the Jacobite Patriarch, is well-nigh impossible. As many as a hundred and three Episcopal, and twenty Metropolitan Sees, are reckoned as having belonged to him. But at the end of the sixteenth century there were but twenty of both kinds; and at a later period five Metropolitans, Caramit, Mosul, (that is, the Maphrian,) Maadan, Aleppo, and Jerusalem. There have been many attempted reconciliations between the Syrian Jacobites and Rome, of which the most celebrated was that in 1247, between Pope Innocent IV. and the Patriarch Ignatius, and the Maphrian Bar Maadn.

The principal Sees give one name to all their Bishops; as Basil of Mosul, Dionysius of Aleppo, Athanasius of Nisibeen.

THE MARONITE CHURCH.

I HAVE now only to speak of the Church of the Maronites, the origin and progress of which is extremely obscure. They are an instance in which profession of a common faith has completely formed a nation: for Maronite is now rather the appellation of a people than the distinction of a religion.

S. Maro seems to have been a contemporary of S. John Chrysostom, and founded a Monastery near Mount Lebanon, which attained considerable eminence. The neighbouring inhabitants, however, either never received the faith, or relapsed into idolatry; and were converted by S. Symeon Stylites. A monk John, named, from his abode in this religious house, John Maro, flourished here towards the end of the seventh century. The Monothelite heresy found a warm supporter at that time in Macarius of Antioch, and on his consequent deposition in the sixth Œcumenical Council, John Maro was consecrated by some Bishops of his faction, took on himself the functions of a Patriarch, won his Monastery and the neighbouring country to his sentiments, and founded the church of the Maronites of Mount Lebanon. Thence-

forward, for five hundred years, they were the only Communion which embraced Monothelitical tenets. They were independent till the year 992, when they were subdued by Amurath.

In 1182, through the exertions of Aymeric, titular Patriarch of Antioch, the whole nation, or Church, to the number of 40,000 souls, embraced the Communion of Rome. Heresy was again sown among these people by Thomas the Haranite and Ebn Sciehban, but they did not relapse into it, though they seem to have fallen into gross ignorance. They were restored about the year 1450; and, since the latter part of the sixteenth century, have been warmly attached to the Communion of Rome*.

Their condition is singular. Though perhaps the most ultramontane people on the earth, they retain their own peculiar observances: the whole office, during Lent, is of immense length, and peculiar to themselves; they keep up public nightly prayers, which are attended by women as well as by men; and they have a peculiar commemoration of the dead in the three weeks preceding Lent. Rome has not interfered with the freedom of their Patriarchs' election, which is perfectly independent. The Maronite College at Rome has produced several illustrious theologians, among whom the Assemanis stand pre-eminent.

Of the cruel persecutions which the Maronites have endured from the Druses I shall have a fitter place to speak.

In a general synod of the Maronite Church, holden at Mount Lebanon, Sep. 30, 1736, the Maronite Sees were thus definitively arranged†.

The PATRIARCH, who resides in the Monastery of S. Mary at KARNOBIN.

- | | |
|---------------------------|--------------------|
| 1. ALEPPO OR BERRHÆA. | 5. DAMASCUS. |
| 2. TRIPOLI. | 6. CYPRUS. |
| 3. BYBLUS AND BOTRUS. | 7. BERYTUS. |
| 4. HELIOPOLIS OR BAALBEK. | 8. TYRE AND SIDON. |

* J. A. Asseman (Pref. in Cod. Lit., tom. ix.) is naturally anxious for the orthodoxy of the Maronites from the earliest times. He endeavours to prove that only a portion of them gave way to Monothelitism. But, after carefully considering his and Le Quien's vindication, I cannot but think, notwithstanding the obscurity of the subject, that the sketch given in the text is the truth. I hope to have a more fitting opportunity, in my History of Antioch, for discussing this question.

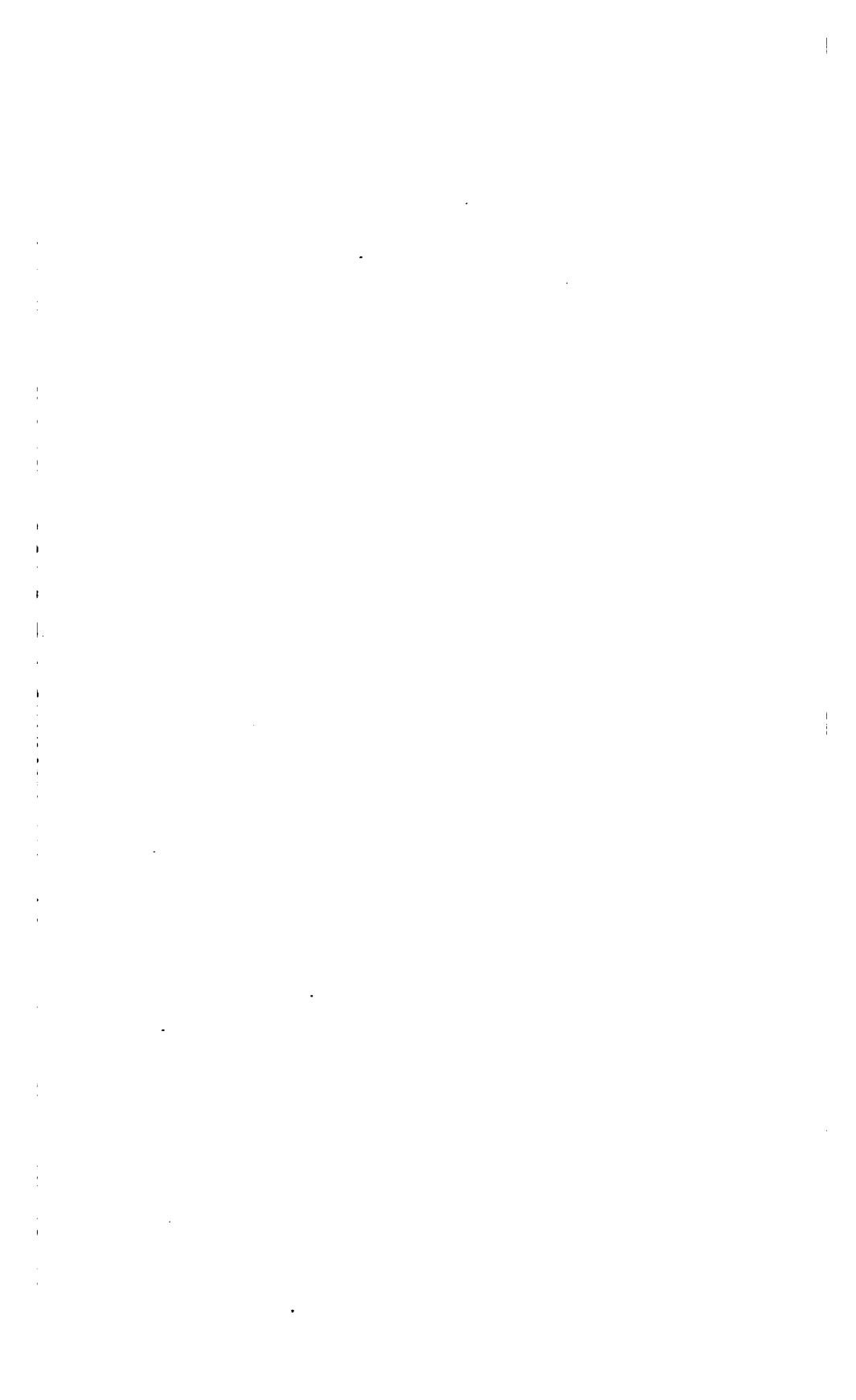
† Assem. Cod. Liturg., tom. x. p. lvi.

CHAPTER IX.

THE PATRIARCHATE OF JERUSALEM,

AND

A NOTITIA OF ITS ANCIENT AND MODERN SEES.



CHAPTER IX.

THE PATRIARCHATE OF JERUSALEM.

IT is well known, both from Scripture and from Ecclesiastical tradition, that, when the Apostles of our LORD went forth throughout the world to the scenes of their respective labours, S. James took upon himself the Bishoprick of the Church of Jerusalem. When that Apostle had suffered martyrdom, which event appears to have happened in the first year of Vespasian, the Church, warned by this great crime, by the general insurrection, and by various other signs, that the destruction of Jerusalem was at hand, retired, according to our LORD's warning, to Pella, where, during the siege, it appears to have remained without any Bishop. On the destruction of the Holy City by Titus, the faithful returned to its ruins; and then it was that S. Simeon, the son of Cleophas, was unanimously elected to the Episcopate: such of the Apostles, and the kinsmen of our LORD, as survived, being present at the transaction. He also glorified God by martyrdom at the age of 120 years: and the succession of Prelates from that time was most rapid, thirteen occurring in the space of thirty-five years. In the mean time, Adrian rebuilt the city, and the last great insurrection of the Jews broke out, under Barchochebas. In it the Christian Church refused to be implicated: and the faithful suffered a severe persecution on that very account. At the same time, the Roman Government naturally viewed them with suspicion, as a mere offshoot from Judaism; for the ceremonial practices of the Law were observed, and no uncircumcised Bishop had hitherto ascended the Chair of S. James. On the death therefore of Judas, the last Bishop

of the Circumcision, the Church, partly conceiving that the conclusion of the second Jewish war, and the utter desolation and dispersion of the people, proved that ceremonial observances were at an end, partly to free itself from the political inconvenience of any imagined connexion with the proscribed people, proceeded to elect Mark, a Gentile, to the vacant See, then and thenceforward known as *Ælia Capitolina*.

At the destruction of Jerusalem, *Cæsarea* became the civil Metropolis of Palestine, and the Church, as usual, followed that arrangement. The Bishops of *Ælia* enjoyed, indeed, a certain kind of honorary pre-eminence: as the seventh Canon of the Council of *Nicæa* sufficiently proves. Yet even there, the words, "saving the rightful honour of the Metropolis," are carefully added. Of the right of *Cæsarea* over *Ælia*, we have many examples. Thus in a Synod of the whole of Palestine holden in the year 196 on the Paschal Question, Theophilus of *Cæsarea* presided, assisted by S. Narcissus of Jerusalem. Thus also Acacius of *Cæsarea* deposed S. Cyril of Jerusalem. So again, in one of S. Jerome's violent epistles respecting John of Jerusalem, we find the same right upheld.

However, during the latter half of the fourth century, the See of Jerusalem, under several of its Prelates, and more especially S. Cyril, strove for the Primacy with that of *Cæsarea*: and the last act of supremacy on the part of the latter occurs in 398, exercised by John of *Cæsarea* towards Praylius of Jerusalem.

Juvenal, the successor of the latter Prelate, a man of considerable powers, and (notwithstanding some unhappy mistakes) a worthy successor of S. James, laid the foundation of the Patriarchate. The steps by which he obtained his desire are not clear. But at the Synod of Ephesus we find him boldly declaring that the Bishop of Antioch ought "to obey the Apostolic Throne of God in the Church of Jerusalem:" and that Apostolic order and tradition had subjected the former to the latter Prelate, in receiving instruction, and, in case of necessity, being tried by him. So at the Robbers' Meeting at Ephesus, Juvenal signs before Domnus of Antioch. While S. Cyril of Alexandria lived, he yielded to these pretensions through the necessity of the times, yet without ap-

proving of them : and S. Leo strenuously, at a later period, opposed them. But Juvenal obtained letters from Theodosius which gave him the prerogative he claimed ; and he even exercised the right of ordination in Phœnicia and in Arabia. After a long contention with Maximus of Antioch, the matter was compromised at Chalcedon : Maximus giving up his real or imaginary rights over the Three Palestines, on condition of retaining the rest of his Diocese ; while Cæsarea possessed too small a degree of influence to be able to oppose the new arrangement.

The See of Jerusalem was happy in avoiding the Great Schism which afflicted Antioch and Alexandria : nor, till its capture by the Saracens, did it experience any signal misfortune. And in like manner as Constantinople sent forth S. Flavian against the Monophysites, and Alexandria S. Cyril against the Nestorians, so S. Sophronius of Jerusalem stood forth as the great champion of the Church against the Monothelites. At the first irruption of the Saracens, Stephen of Dora was appointed by Pope Theodore his Vicar in Palestine ; and the step must not be regarded as schismatical, because the dying Sophronius had implored Rome to take cognisance of the affairs of his Diocese : and the See of Jerusalem remained vacant sixty years. Thenceforward the succession continued uninterrupted till the capture of the city by the Latins. Simeon, the legitimate Patriarch, dying in the same month, the Latins elected Daimbert in his stead, the Greeks appear to have bestowed the titular honour on Agapius. At the recapture of the city by the Infidels, the Greek Patriarchs again became resident : while the Latins failed not to keep up their own titular succession.

Syrians were almost universally elected to the Patriarchate till the elevation of Germanus in 1554. He, in his twenty-five years' episcopate, contrived so to fill up his suffragan Sees, as to have a majority of Greeks : and from that time native Syrians have been scrupulously excluded from the Patriarchal Throne. The Patriarchs are non-resident ; they have a house, church, and gardens, in the part of Constantinople called the *Phanar*. This has been the case since the time of Theophanes, in the early part of the seventeenth century.

They nominate an assistant to themselves, who eventually succeeds them: and the Patriarchate is committed to the care of several "guardians." Should a Patriarch die without nominating a successor, the brethren of the Holy Sepulchre, the personal staff of the Patriarch, in number about 150, elect, and their choice is perfectly independent of all other authority.

The number of parish Priests in the Diocese is about seventy: that of churches rather larger: and that of the Faithful, about 18,000.

PALESTINA PRIMA: Metropolis, CÆSAREA.

This See possessed very great importance in the times of the Early Church. Its first Bishop is said to have been Zaccheus, the Publican: its second, Cornelius, the Centurion. The first of these stories stands on a very doubtful foundation: the second is both likely, and better attested. We have just seen the struggles of Cæsarea with Jerusalem, and its final subjugation by that See.

PALESTINA SECUNDA: Metrop., SCYTHOPOLIS=BETHSHAN.

This city lost its Metropolitcal rights during the time that the Latin Kingdom of Palestine lasted; for by them they were transferred to Nazareth. On the return of the Greek Patriarchs, they were restored to Bethshan.

Of Palestina Tertia, and its Metropolis Petra, we have nothing to say.

PALESTINA PRIMA.

Ancient.
CÆSAREA, *Metropolis.*
DORA = DOR.
ANTIPATRIS.
LYDDA.
JAMNIA.
NICOPOLIS = EMMANUS.
SOZUSA.
GADARA.

Ancient.
BETHELLA.
ZABULON.
ARCHELAIS.
ONUS = ONO.
TRICOMIA.
Parabas.
Torus.
Azotus Hippinia.

Ancient.

ASCALON.
 MAJUMA ASCALONIS.
 GAZA.
 MAJUMA JUXTA GAZAM.
 JOPPA.
 RAPHA.
 SARIPHAMA.
 ANTHEDON.
 ELEUTHEROPOLEIS.
 HERBON.

Ancient.

BETHLEHEM.
 DIOCLETIANOPOLIS.
 NEAPOLIS.
 SEBASTE = SAMARIA.
 JERICO.
 LIBYAS.
 SYCAMAZON.
 AZOTUS.
 GERARA.
 PETRA.
 MENOIS.

PALESTINA SECUNDA.

SCYTHOPOLIS = BETHESHAN, *Metropolis.*

NAZARETH.
 TABOR.
 PELLA.
 GERASA.
 GADARA.
 GABZ.
 ABILA.
 MAXIMIANOPOLIS.
 TIBERIAS.
 HIPPOS.

JOTABA.

HELENOPOLIS.
 DIOCESAREA.
 EKALUS.
 AMATHUS.
 CAPITOLIAS.
 CAPHARCOTIA.
 MYRUS.
Tetracomia.
Clima Gaulames.
 NAIS.

PALESTINA TERTIA.

PETRA, *Metropolis.*
 AUGUSTOPOLIS.
 ARINDELA.
 ARAD.
 CHARACMOBA.
 AREOPOLIS.
 ELUSA.
Birosabon.
Mamopsora.
Cyriacopolis.

ZOAR.
 PHÆNUS.
 MOUNT SINAI (=PHARAN.)
 AILA (=ELATH.)
 METROCOME (=BACATHA.)
 PAREMBOLÆ (=THE SARACENS.)
 MEDABA.
Pentacomia.
Saltus Hieraticus.
 PHARA.

MODERN PATRIARCHATE.

JERUSALEM : 5360 Orthodox Christians : nineteen Priests.

CÆSAREA, Metropolis. Protothronus, and Primate of Palestine, 150 Orthodox Christians.

SCYTHOPOLIS, Metropolis. 910 Orthodox Christians.

PETRA, Metropolis. About 1000 Orthodox Christians.

PTOLEMAIS, (subtracted from Antioch.) At present Exarchy. About 1000 Orthodox : twelve Priests.

BETHLEHEM, 880 Orthodox : four Priests.

NAZARETH, 2700 Orthodox : seven Priests.

LYDDA, 450 Orthodox : four Priests.

GAZA, 150 Orthodox : a Priest.

SINAI, Archbishoprick : the Deacons and Priests ordained by the Patriarch.

JOFFA, 300 Orthodox : one Priest.

NABLOUSE, Archbishoprick. 540 Orthodox : three Priests.

SAMARIA, Archbishoprick. 310 Orthodox : two Priests.

MOUNT TABOR, 350 Orthodox : three Priests.

PHILADELPHIA, (dependent on Petra,) about 500 Orthodox : one Priest.

The above list is from Mr. Williams's 'Jerusalem:' and was drawn up by Anthimus, the Patriarch's secretary, in 1838.

The following is a tolerably accurate statement of the number of Orthodox Christians in the Eastern Church :

Patriarchate of CONSTANTINOPLE, SERVIA, &c.	. . .	12,000,000
" " ALEXANDRIA	. . .	5,000
" " MOSCOW	. . .	50,000,000
" " ANTIOCH and CYPRUS	. . .	150,000
" " JERUSALEM	. . .	15,000
GREECE, MONTENEGRO, &c.	. . .	800,000
In the AUSTRIAN dominions	. . .	2,800,000
Grand total		65,770,000

BOOK II.

THE ECCLESIOLOGY
OF THE
HOLY EASTERN CHURCH.

NARRO ET QUAS STRUCTURIS IMMANIBUS, CUM CHRISTIANA PIETAS DUCTU AUSPICIOQUE SUO ORI-
ENTIS REGNAT IMPERIUM, ANTIQUA GRÆCIA BASILICAS SIBI SUMPTUOSISSIME EXTRUCTAS, AUT
TEMPLA PRO FACULTATUM CIVIUM MODULO ÆDIFICABAT, ET QUÆ NUNC IN ACERRIMISSIMA SERVI-
TUTE ET RELIGIONIS OPPRESSIONE AUT CLANCULUM FIDELIS ERIGUNT, AUT VETUSTAS EDAX RELI-
QUA FECIT, ET FIDELIBUS INNATA RELIGIO FREQUENTI ACCRESSU VENERATUR ET COLIT.—ALLATIUS
De Recent. Græc. Templis.

INTRODUCTION.

I do not commence the second portion of my work without a deep feeling of its extreme difficulty. If the reader will consider that a treatise on the Ecclesiology of any one country, as of England, would require, if making any pretensions to completeness, the labour of a life; if he will still further carry out the idea, and imagine the execution of a work on the Ecclesiology of Europe; he may form some faint conception of the intense difficulty of the task on which I am now engaged. I am about to write on the Church arrangement, not of one country, not of one continent, only, but of Asia, the third part of Europe, and a quarter of Africa. I am to speak of lands not to be visited by the pleasurable labour of a few weeks, but teeming with dangers of every description, from the robber and the pestilence, from the wild beast and the desert; lands, for the most part, which none has visited who understood or cared for Ecclesiology; where heathen temples have been explored and measured, described and delineated with wonderful diligence; but a Christian cathedral is dismissed with the reflection^a, "In Architecture, the sculpture of the Cross is a brand always attended by deformity in proportion, and a total want of simplicity in ornament." The casual notices of flippant or infidel travellers; the chance mention of those whose investigations were directed to other objects; the blundering description of such as set forth with note-books to fill, and preferred the devoting a page to a church than leaving it empty; these have to be pieced together, collated, reconciled; truth must be discriminated from error, and made consistent with itself; Oriental ritualists must be compared

^a Fellows, Lycia, i. 159.

with Oriental travellers, the dusty folios of past generations with the gaudy volumes of the present day ; a Balsamon and a S. Symeon of Thessalonica with a Morier or a Layard.

This, in itself, were full of formidable difficulties ; how much more so in absolutely the first attempt that has been made to give the slightest analysis of Eastern Ecclesiology as a whole ! None can be better aware than myself how miserably unsatisfactory is the result. At the same time I may fairly claim the indulgence which is due to one who does that badly which none else has ventured to do at all ; and may perhaps express a hope that others, in more fully investigating the subject, may find their way smoothed by the pains of a writer, who had no one to smooth it for him.

It is curious how strong a prejudice exists against all idea of the beauty of Byzantine architecture. It seems to be regarded as a stiff corruption of heathen art ; a 'Jacobean' imitation of Grecian loveliness. That it has in itself the breath of Christian life ; that it worked out its own developements ; that piety of the deepest fervour, and genius of the highest order, were poured forth on its thousand temples ; that the sublime dome was its own, that shrine raised to the ALMIGHTY above the din and the bustle of earth, of which perhaps we have not yet seen the full development ; all this is unknown or forgotten. The man who will be affected even to tears with the Romanesque majesty of Peterborough or Treves, will acknowledge condescendingly the barbaric splendour of S. Sophia or Cutais. As if there were a moment's comparison between the Western cathedral of the eleventh century, aspiring into Christianity, and the soaring arches and aerial dome of Byzantine glory ! True : the parallel ceases with the first Western style. The succeeding epochs of Constantinopolitan art varied only so much from each other as Pisan, or Rhenish, or Lombard differ from Norman Romanesque. There lacked the vigorous freshness, which, in the West, bade old things to pass away ; and though Servia at one time trembled on the verge of a Byzantine First Pointed, the battle of Kosowa swept away her art and her kingdom together.

Nor can it be said that the adoption of the pointed arch unfettered the energies of the West. In Georgia and Ar-

menia that arch was indigenous ; their architects understood it in its most difficult form, the oggee : they had the tower and the spire of the West ; but not its power of developement. But for the hand to hand fight of centuries which they carried on with Mahometanism, the good seed of the vertical principle might perchance have taken deep root.

One prejudice against Byzantine Art is the more unfortunate, because it is so natural. The inexperienced eye looks at an Eastern church, and pronounces it a mosque. We forget that all that is beautiful in Mahometan temples is the birth-right of the Oriental Faith ; all that is hideous, the invention of that degraded religion. Compare, for instance, the grandeur of the Soleimanie, or of the mosque of Yeni Jami, where the original type is tolerably preserved, with the foul vagaries of those of Shah-za-deh Jamesi, or of Mahmoud II. at Tophana. And perhaps the confusion between the Mahometan and the Christian temple is aggravated by the profane custom of calling one by the denomination of the other : as in common parlance the Patriarchal church of the Eternal Wisdom degenerates into the mosque of S. Sophia.

None, I imagine, would for a moment class Byzantine Architecture with any pointed developement of Christian Art. I only claim for it a position above the highest developement of Latin Romanesque. And, if that be conceded to it, if we approach it with the belief that its cathedrals are of a higher design than even such glorious piles as Tewkesbury, or Durham, we shall be prepared to do it that justice which has hitherto been withheld from it ; and to exchange the narrow-mindedness of a simply European view for an appreciation of the neglected half of Catholic Art.

There are but two works which treat ecclesiologically of any portion of the East. They are, the *Choix d'Eglises Byzantines en Grece* of M. Couchaud, published at Paris in 1842 ; and the *Voyage Autour du Caucase* of M. Dubois de Montpereux, which appeared at Geneva in 1840. To both I am extremely obliged. I have borrowed from them many views and ground-plans of Grecian and Armenian churches ; and I am indebted to M. Couchaud for a systematized view

of Byzantine Architecture which, with some modifications, I have followed.

It need hardly, however, be observed, how vast is the territory which these writers have not touched: the whole of Asia, with the exception of the environs of Caucasus; Russia; Turkey in Europe; the Patriarchate of Alexandria; with the finest developement of Byzantine Architecture, the Servian churches of the dynasty of S. Stephen Dushan.

To particularise the almost innumerable volumes of travels which have been consulted in the composition of the following pages, would be alike tedious and useless. Nor is there one which seems to claim prominent notice, with the exception of M. Mouravieff's Travels in Georgia, which appeared at S. Petersburg in 1848: and M. Texier's Researches in Armenia and Asia Minor, published in fasciculi under the direction of the late French government at Paris.

Of other works, I should mention the two Dissertations of Leo Allatius *De recentioribus Græcorum templis*: and the *Glossarium mediæ et infimæ Græcitatæ* of Du Cange: as well as his *Constantinopolis Christiana*. The treatise of Procopius on the buildings of Justinian, and the beautiful poem of Paul the Silentiary have, of course, not been forgotten. Some valuable information I have derived from the notes to Jossilian's History of Georgia: to the MS. translation of which, by the Rev. R. W. Blackmore, I have already professed my obligations. And it is equally a duty and a pleasure to acknowledge the service which, in reference to the Byzantine Architecture of Italy, the *Continental Ecclesiology* of my friend Mr. Webb has afforded to the following chapters.

CHAPTER I.

DEFINITIONS AND EXPLANATIONS.

1. EASTERN Ecclesiology may be divided into two grand branches, *Byzantine* and *Armenian*. The latter prevails in Armenia and the countries adjoining the Caucasus; the former extends itself over the rest of the domain of the Oriental Church, where there is any architectural style at all. In Georgia the two styles are found blended in various combinations.

2. I might add, as a third grand branch, *Tartaric*; but that existed for so short a time, and in so limited a space, that it will more easily be considered in the light of an excrescence than in that of a component portion.

3. A Byzantine church might most fitly be defined as a gabled Greek cross, with central dome, inscribed in a square, or quasi-square. This square has, on the west, an addition, not usually under the same roof, and sometimes a mere lean-to; and is on the east, externally for the most part, and almost always internally, triapsidal.

4. The interior arrangement involves a four-fold division, into Bema or Sanctuary, Choir, Nave, Narthex. The sanctuary is strongly marked off from the choir, the nave from the narthex. The choir and nave are less distinctly, and often not at all, separated. The narthex forms the western addition above named.

5. North and south porches are very rare. The porch, where it occurs, is generally a mere second narthex, and stretches along the whole western façade of the building.

6. The three apses are, that on the north for the chapel of Prothesis, that in the centre for the Altar, that on the south for the sacristy.

7. The theory of the ground-plan presupposes but one altar; hence there are, properly speaking, no aisles; what appear as such being in fact the complements of the square, as described around the cross.

8. Chapels, except where there has been contact with

the West, never occur, or, if they do, are merely adjoined churches.

9. The transepts never project beyond the side walls of the building.

10. In addition to the central, there is sometimes a western dome; sometimes there is one at each end of the narthex; often one at each angle of the square; occasionally one at each end of the cross.

11. The division of the sexes is strictly maintained, and, in the older churches, was architecturally carried out, a women's gallery extending over the narthex, over the west end, or round nave and choir.

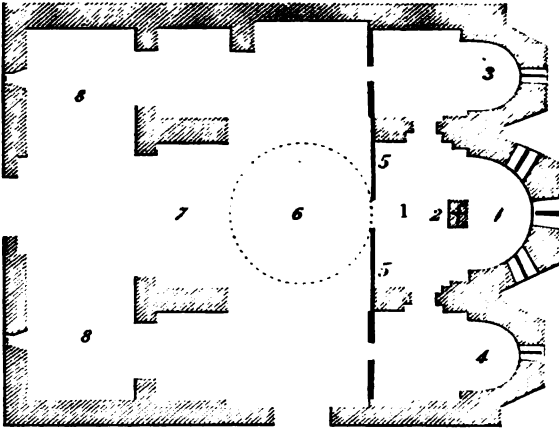
12. Byzantine architecture, unlike the Romanesque of the West—which was a progressive developement from the traditions of the Lower Empire under the influence of the successive introduction of Christian elements—was the original creation probably of some one great mind, (now lost to fame,) invented anew as a Christian style when Byzantium became the first Christian capital, and completed, as a theory, in the erection of S. Sophia: to which, therefore, all Byzantine churches may be referred as to their prototype.

13. These remarks of course apply only to churches of the true Eastern type; there are many of the kind called *dromic*, or *basilican*, which exhibit the early Western arrangement, and are even to be found at comparatively a late epoch.

14. The church of S. Theodore at Athens may serve by way of specimen of the internal arrangement and external appearance of a Byzantine building. (See opposite page.)

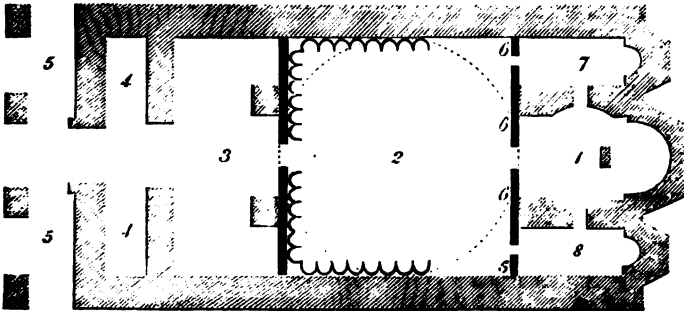
15. For a clearer display of the internal arrangements I will take a church as given by Goar, with a few alterations; will purposely exaggerate the choir, and will render the internal division of the various parts distinct, in a manner which never in reality occurs. (See woodcut and description on opposite page.)

16. In the pure Byzantine type the dome sometimes rests on four central mass-piers: sometimes its eastern side is supported by the extremities of the *parabemata*. In the former case it may be termed columnar, in the latter *parabematic*. Care must, however, be taken to recognise the



CHURCH OF S. THEODORE AT ATHENS.

1. The *ἄγιον Βῆμα*, or sanctuary.
2. The Altar, in the centre of the chord of the apse.
3. The *prothesis*,
4. The *diaconicon*, or sacristy, } which, when divided as here, by walls from the bema, are called *parabemata*.
5. The *iconostasis*, or screen which separates sanctuary from choir, and therefore answers to our altar-rails.
6. The *trullus*, or dome ; under it the choir.
7. The nave, or *trapeza*, not architecturally separated from the choir.
8. The narthex.



CHURCH, AS GIVEN BY GOAR.

1. The Altar.
2. The trullus, the choir below it, surrounded with *stasidia*, or stalls for the clerks.
3. The nave.
4. The narthex, or *pronaos*.
5. The *proaulion*, or porch.
6. The iconostasis.
7. The prothesis.
8. The diaconicon.

parabema in cases where there is a passage through it, as it is still architecturally one, though, for convenience sake, a passage may have been opened in it. Thus the church of S. Theodore, given above, has a parabematic dome. Between the western mass-piers of the dome and the narthex may intervene one or two bays with their piers, but rarely, in purely Byzantine churches, a greater number.

17. The only other general observation which I need here make, is that the western gable of the cross is sometimes flush with the west face of the nave, sometimes with that of the narthex.

18. Byzantine architecture, properly speaking, has its origin from S. Sophia; but for the sake of comprehensiveness I may divide it into four stages.

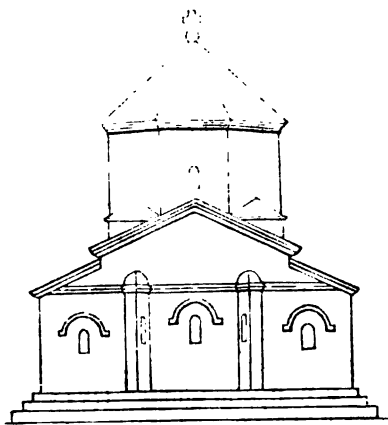
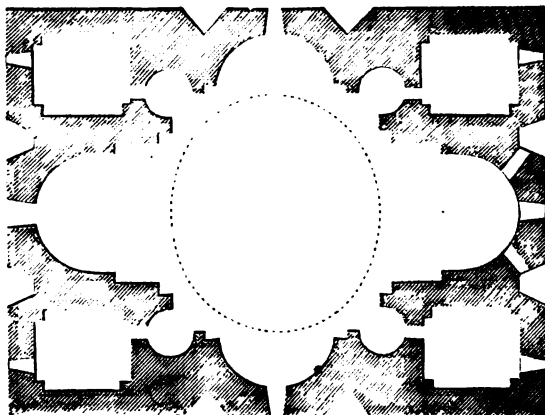
1. From the foundation of Constantinople to the erection of S. Sophia, A.D. 330 to A.D. 537.
2. From the erection of S. Sophia to the commencement of the cathedral of Cutais, A.D. 537 to A.D. 1003.
3. From the commencement of the cathedral of Cutais to the fall of Constantinople, A.D. 1003 to A.D. 1453.
4. From the fall of Constantinople to the present time, A.D. 1453 to A.D. 1849.

19. The other great branch of Eastern Ecclesiology is the Armenian.

20. If we take a Byzantine church as described in § 3, and elongate the square by throwing the narthex into it; make all the four arms internally apsidal, and the two opposite ones correspondent; prevent, or exceedingly diminish their external protrusion, by *niching* the wall on both sides of each; turn the complements of the parallelogram described about the cross into distinct chapels; divide the narthex into two, making it occupy the two chapels to the west, the prothesis and diaconicon occupying the two to the east; replace the central and angular domes by one central tower and spire, circular or octagonal; remove all piers, and support the tower on the parabemata, and the correspondent projections or *antiparabemata* on the west; the transformation into an Armenian church will be well-nigh complete. The four angular compartments are, however, now generally used as distinct oratories, or chapels.

21. Hence it follows that a purely Armenian church, bisected either longitudinally or latitudinally, would often present (excluding the consideration of doors and windows) two equal and similar halves: a fact which would serve as a definition, inasmuch as no other system of churches is arranged on the same plan.

22. As all Byzantine churches may be referred to S. Sophia as to their prototype, so may all Armenian churches be derived from S. Hripsime, near Etchmiadzine; of which I therefore give an elevation, and a ground-plan.



CHURCH OF S. HRIPSIME, NEAR ETCHMIADZINE.

23. The apsidal arms of the cross are always circular or elliptic interiorly: always polygonal exteriorly; while the prothesis and diaconicon are never apsidal on the outside, and seldom so on the inside.

24. The approximation to European architecture is often striking on a distant view, the spires being sometimes lofty, and the towers of much the same proportion as our own.



Armenian church on the Zanger,
near ERIVAN.

25. Although the general idea and principal details of these churches are Romanesque, pointed windows are very frequent; and two lights, with tracery, occasionally occur.

26. The reader will here notice the peculiar niche by which the apses are formed; a sure mark of Armenian art: never occurring in a purely Byzantine erection, though frequent enough in Georgio-Constantinopolitan churches.

27. Armenian Ecclesiology may also be divided into five periods: they will be better understood by referring to the historical sketch of the church which we have given in the first book.

1. The period of the dynasty of the Arsacidæ, till A.D. 428.
2. The period of the contest of Constantinople and Persia, till A.D. 884.
3. The period of the dynasty of the Bagratidæ, till A.D. 1064.
4. The period of the dynasty of the Rubendians, till A.D. 1441.
5. The period of the return of the Patriarchs.

Of these, as it is clear, the first has left hardly any Ecclesiological remains.

28. Georgian architecture combines in a certain degree the two former styles: it retains the Byzantine narthex, and does not refuse piers: it adopts the Armenian tower, and, to a certain extent, the niche. Its own peculiarity consists in arcading the exterior of its churches.

* This cut is from Lumsden's *Overland Journey*, p. 146.

CHAPTER II.

THE ARRANGEMENT AND DETAILS OF AN EASTERN CHURCH.

1. It has already been observed that every church constructed on the Byzantine model has (exclusive of the narthex, which in later ages is sometimes wanting) three parts: bema, choir, and nave. Nor is it necessary here to prove that the most elemental principles of Ecclesiological science once admitted, such must be the case: that there *must* be a sanctuary for the Holy Mysteries, a choir for Clerks in the largest sense of the word, a nave for the Faithful, whether there be, or be not, a narthex for Penitents and Catechumens. It is therefore the more astonishing that the best writers on Greek ritual and antiquities should constantly speak of three parts only, bema, nave, and narthex; confounding in some instances the sanctuary with the choir; in others, and those the generality, the choir with the nave; and, in one case at least, the nave with the narthex. Hence we shall find inextricable confusion in the usual explanation of many arrangements in themselves perfectly simple; hence violent hypotheses to account for that which needs no solution; hence, finally, the unsatisfactory nature of the elucidations which have hitherto been offered on the subject of Eastern Ecclesiology.

2. Du Cange, Allatius, Banduri, and others, have all fallen into the same mistake*: Goar only seems to have

* So Grelot, speaking of S. Sophia, "Ce dôme—couvre la meilleure partie de ce que l'on peut appeller la nef de l'Eglise: car le cœur étoit renfermé depuis l'extrémité Orientale de ce cercle," &c., p. 104. Allatius distinguishes

clearly enough in name between the choir and the bema; "Hinc manifeste falluntur ii, qui *λεπαρεῖον* cum Choro confundunt" (De Rec. Græc. Templ. p. 183); but then he goes on, "Chorus Christianis *omnibus* patet;

avoided it. Even the very learned and accurate Father Thiers is not free from error on this head, and, in our own times, the iconostasis of the Eastern is perpetually confounded with the rood-screen of our own Church, instead of being compared to, what in fact it represents, the altar-rails.

3. The mistake, however, was not unnatural, and has its parallel in the West. It was not unnatural, for the choir and nave are never architecturally separated, and often not divided at all. And it has its parallel in the West: for there the sanctuary and choir have perpetually been confounded, even though we, in the English Church, have generally a screen between them. Popular writers tell us that every church consists of two parts, choir and nave. No wonder then that Eastern ritualists should make the same mistake, though they generally confuse the nave, *we* the sanctuary, with the choir. And in the same manner, and using the same loose method of division, the Emperor Theodosius distinguishes the church into three parts only, when, in his edict on Ecclesiastical Asylums, he says, "*Sacrosanctum Altare cancellis clausum*," i. e. the bema, "*quadratum Templi oratorium murorum ambitu circumscriptum*," i. e. choir and nave, "*et locum residuum usque ad Ecclesiæ fores exteriores*," i. e. the narthex. S. Symeon of Thessalonica is

Hieration Sacerdotibus solum, et clericis:" which shews that in fact he confounds them. Father Thiers is as incorrect; he brings forward the testimonies of Eusebius, S. Gregory Nazianzen, Theodoret, and Sozomen, concerning the iconostasis, in reference to the rood-screens of the Latin Church, (*Dissert. sur la Clôture*, p. 6, &c.)

So also Bingham, Index to vol. ii. chap. 6. "The chancel, anciently called bema, or tribunal, also chorus, or quire." See also the very curious seventy-seventh section of Du Cange's account of S. Sophia, (Constantinop. Christ., ii. 70.) He first refutes Allatius's assertion that the bema, naos, and pronaos of the Eastern Church answer to the sanctuary, choir, and nave of the Latin Communion, and concludes a

learned but very unsatisfactory argument by the candid admission, "*patet hac saltem tempestate, sedes sacras Græcorum, atque ideo Sophianam, choro in quo Clerus constituent caruisse.*" Much more true is Mr. Webb's remark (Cont. Ecclesiol., 141) in describing S. Saviour's at Munich, a Western building, now adapted for Greek rites: "It is singular how the Greeks exaggerated the distinction between chancel and sacrarium, and almost lost that between chancel and nave." But Du Cange, in his Glossary, contradicts what he says in the Constantinop. Christiana: "*Ecclesiæ in tres partes dividuntur: in narthecem, quam Latini navim vocant, (a gross mistake,) in chorum, et in bema.*" —p. 1272.

not less inaccurate. The nartheces^b, says he, represent the things that are in the earth, the nave the heaven, and the most holy bema the things that are above the heaven. This passage, among others, shews that S. Symeon wrote when the true age of mediæval symbolism was passed. It is curious that he should not have seen how the Jewish type, which, if any where, prevails in the Eastern Church, requires a four-fold division; the Holy of Holies answering to the bema, the Holy Place to the choir, the Court of the Jews to the nave, and that of the Gentiles to the narthex.

4. There are, however, two parallels in the West with the existing state of things in the East. The one is the arrangement of chapels in churches, as where an aisle served for that purpose. Here the altar itself was generally raised on two or three steps, which of course formed the bema; but the rest of the aisle was undivided, or (in other words) there was no separation between nave and choir. The other parallel is in Spanish churches. Here the architectural choir is generally only the ritual sanctuary; the true choir is in the nave, and often not separated from it at all: indeed the dimensions of the two vary, and when there is a full attendance of Priests the choir is prolonged by the simple expedient of hanging up a board at its further end, with the inscription, + *Hic est Chorus*.

5. But, although the separation of choir and nave is much less distinct in the East than in the West, there is frequently a screen between them. A striking example of this will be seen in the Coptic church of Gebel-el-ter, hereafter to be given. The arrangement especially prevails in monastic churches: and is often found in Russia. In the last-named country, the nave is, by a provincial use, termed the *trapeza*. The name is not employed elsewhere, but is so extremely convenient that I shall not scruple to adopt it.

6. In the same way as, in the West, it is found convenient to have one word which shall embrace both choir and sanctuary, as distinguished from the nave, namely chancel, so, in writing of the East, it will be desirable to have one term that

^b Καὶ νάρθηκας μὲν τὰ ἐν τῇ γῇ, ναὸν δὲ τὸν οὐρανόν, τὰ δὲ ὑπερουράνια τὸ ἀγιάστατον βῆμα.

shall combine choir and trapeza, as distinguished from the sanctuary, and this we shall find in *naos*.

7. The bema, or sanctuary, has at various times been called the *ιερατεῖον*^c; the Holy of Holies; the *ἄδυτον*; the Holies^d; the *ιερά ταμεία*^e; and even the *θυσιαστήριον*^f, and the *ἱλαστήριον*^g. It is now usual, though certainly not correct, to call the whole part eastward of the iconostasis by this name, and thus to make the prothesis and the diaconicon a part of the bema. The Canons, as in the West so in the East^h, forbidding access to any except the Priest into the sanctuary, are innumerable, and are grounded on the forty-fourth of the Council of Laodicea. Whatever licence may have been occasionally conceded to laymen in that respect, the stringency of the rule with regard to women has been universal. It appears, however, that the Emperors of Constantinople were accustomed, from the earliest times, to enter the bema; and though for a time Theodosius, in obedience to the bold reprimand of S. Ambrose, introduced the custom of the West into the East, ancient usage again prevailed: for we find that S. Tarasiusⁱ excluded Constantine Copronymus from the sanctuary. Greek ritualists account for this deference

^c It is often named *ιερατεῖον* in the rubrics, as in that of marriage: τοῦ ἱερέως ἐστῶτος ἐν τῷ ἱερατείῳ παρίστανται οἱ μέλλοντες ζεύγνυσθαι πρὸ τῶν ἁγίων θυρῶν.

^d So Cedrenus, in the reign of Constantine Porphyrogenitus, says that his son Theophylact, when about to be made a Subdeacon, πρότερον διήλθεν εἰς τὰ ἅγια μετὰ τοῦ τάγματος τῶν ὑποδιακόνων.

^e So Ignatius, in his life of S. Nicophorus, relates that he τῶν ἱερῶν ἐκελύων ταμείων εὐωδίαζε δώματα.

^f This name, which ought never to be employed, as giving rise to so much confusion, is to be found in the Typicon Sabæ. Θυμιάσας δὲ ὁ ἱερεὺς σταυροειδῶς τὴν ἁγίαν τράπεζαν, καὶ ὄλον τὸ θυσιαστήριον.

^g This confusing term is also used by the same authority: θυμῷ τὴν ἁγίαν

τράπεζαν σταυροειδῶς, ὡσαύτως καὶ τὸ ἱλαστήριον ἅπαν.

^h So Alexius of Ariste: καὶ οὕτω τὴν ἁγίαν προσφορὰν ἐπιτελεῖσθαι, καὶ μεταλαμβάνειν ἐν τῷ βήματι μόνους τοὺς ἱερατικούς. And Zonaras; κοινωνεῖν δὲ ταύτης ἐν τῷ θυσιαστηρίῳ μόνοις τοῖς ἱερατικοῖς ἐξεῖναι λέγει ὁ κανὼν. The same thing is ordered by the sixty-ninth Canon of the Council in Trullo, on which Alexius writes thus: εἰ μὴ βασιλεὺς, οὗτις τῶν λαϊκῶν εἰς ἱλαστήριον εἰσεῖται· ἐστὶ γὰρ τοῖς κοσμικοῖς τὸ ἱλαστήριον ἄβατον· βασιλεὺς δὲ οὐ κεκλύται εἰσερχεσθαι ἐν αὐτῷ, ἥνικα ἀν βουληθεῖη, καὶ προσάγειν δῶρα Θεῷ. Allatius quotes many other instances, but these may suffice.

ⁱ Ignat. Monach. Vit. S. Tarasii. Bolland. Feb. 25, cap. 7.

to the Emperor from his assumption of a semi-sacerdotal character, by the holy oil of inauguration.

8. There were churches nevertheless, in which, by an odd kind of privilege, women were allowed to enter the sanctuary. Such were those of S. Saviour¹ in Chalce, and S. Mary the Hodegetria², and the Themistor, in Constantinople. The former has been supposed to have been thus licensed in honour of Irene Attica, the great patroness of icons after the second Council of Nicæa. But this is hardly probable, and Theodore Balsamon³ simply views the whole as an abuse.

9. This strict seclusion of the sanctuary prevails all over the East. In the Coptic Church it is the *Aradion*^m, a clear corruption of the Greek Hieration: in the Ethiopic the *Kedis Kedisen*ⁿ, or Holy of Holies; among the Nestorians^o it is the Haikla, (ܚܝܟܠܐ) and not even the Priest may enter it without prayer or fasting, their strictness on this point being almost Jewish^p. "I observed," says a modern traveller^q, speaking of a Nestorian church, "that a door conducted into the sanctuary, and was about to enter; but the Bishop commanded me in an authoritative tone to stop: I replied that I too was a Priest; but he answered that the place could only be entered by fasting, and betrayed by his manner such an earnestness that I desisted." If the bema is entered by persons not qualified so to do, it must, according to the

¹ Du Cange, Constantinop. Christ. i. 117; Banduri, ii. 479. The Chalce was a kind of vestibule to the imperial palace, and the church of S. Saviour was founded in it by John Zimisces, on the most liberal scale, for fifty Clerks. —Zonaras, p. 171; Scylitzes, p. 683. It may quite be considered one of the fashionable churches of Constantinople.

² This church was founded by S. Pulcheria.—Theod. Hist. Eccl. i.; Niceph. Callist. xiv. 2. Was this the reason of the licence?

³ In Can. Conc. Quinisext. 69. "Ὅπως οὖν εἰς τὸ θεῖον ἔδωτον τοῦ περιερούμου ναοῦ τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ ἐν τῇ Χαλκῇ ἀκωλύτως εἰσερχεταὶ βουλόμενος, ἀγνοῶ. . . Σημεῖωσαι τὸν

παρόντα κανόνα, καὶ φύλαττε τοῦτον· κἂν ἐγὼ οὐκ ἠδυνήθην κωλύσαι τοὺς εἰσερχομένους κοσμικοὺς εἰς τὸ θεῖον βῆμα τῆς ὑπεραγίας μου Θεοτόκου τῆς Ὁδηγητρίας, λέγοντας ἀρχῆθεν κρατῆσαι τὴν τοιαύτην συνήθειαν, ἵντε τῷ ἁγίῳ οἴκῳ τῆς Θεομήτορος, καὶ ἐν τῷ τοῦ Σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ ἐν τῇ Χαλκῇ.

^m Renaud. Lit. Or. i. 165.

ⁿ Harris, Highlands of Æthiopia, iii. 138.

^o Etherege, 109.

^p This is one of the proofs given by Dr. Asahel Grant of the Israelitish origin of this people. Nestorians, p. 173.

^q The Rev. Eli Smith.

present Nestorian order, be reconciled, but in the interim may be visited by any one¹.

10. But, although not enforcing the same extremity of discipline with respect to an entrance into the sanctuary, the Church of Constantinople has ever regarded it as being the *right* of Priests alone. Hence the expression "they of the bema" has always, from the time of S. Gregory Nazianzen* to that of Meletius Piga, at first perhaps metaphorically, at last only technically, signified the Priesthood.

I now proceed to notice the various decorations and appurtenances of the bema.

11. The position of the Altar in the Eastern church is the centre of the chord which bounds the apse. This is absolutely essential to the rite of Constantinople, inasmuch as the Deacon is directed, more than once, to cense it all round ; which of course could not be done if it adjoined the wall. Several of the churches of Justinian, however, were so arranged as that the Altar occupied the centre of the dome : this was the case in All Apostles at Constantinople, and S. John at Ephesus.

12. With respect to the name, though βωμός and θυσιαστήριον are both used, yet *ἁγία τράπεζα* is by far the most customary term both in the rubrics and in theological writings. In the Liturgy hardly any thing else occurs. *"Εμπροσθεν τῆς ἁγίας τραπέζης προσκυνοῦσι τρίς.—Εὐχὴ προσκομιδῆς μετὰ τὴν ἐν τῇ ἁγίᾳ τραπέζῃ τῶν θείων δώρων ἀπόθεσιν. . . . Ὁ διάκονος θυμῷ γύρωθεν τὴν ἁγίαν τράπεζαν. . . . Καὶ ἀπέρχεται ὀπισθεν τῆς ἁγίας τραπέζης.* So we have the *τάξις γενομένη ἐν τῇ μεγάλῃ ἐ ἐν τῇ ἐκπλύσει τῆς ἁγίας τραπέζης.* And again, *τάξις γενομένη ἐπὶ σαλευθείσης ἁγίας τραπέζης.* And so in innumerable other instances. Of more poetical names Greek ritualists will supply a sufficiency : the Altar is

¹ "Not long ago a Bishop was called to consecrate anew the sanctuary of the church in Ooroomiah, which had been entered by unhallowed feet in the night."—Grant, p. 172. He adds, "There is no parallel to this state of feeling among the other Christians of

the East. I have repeatedly entered the sanctuary of the Armenian, Greek, and Jacobite Syrian churches, and that in the presence of their ecclesiastics, who made no objection."

* So also, in the opposite sense, *οἱ ἔξω τοῦ βήματος*. Sgurop. Conc. Flor., xii. 8.

the *καθέδρα Θεοῦ*, the *τόπος Θεοῦ*, the *σκήνωμα τῆς τοῦ Θεοῦ δόξης*, the *μνῆμα Χριστοῦ*, the *ἀνάπαυσις Θεοῦ*, the *μεγάλου θύματος ἐργαστήριον*.

13. For the material, it is certain that the mind of the Eastern Church prefers stone. Symeon of Thessalonica¹; "The Altar is of stone, because it represents CHRIST, who is also called the Rock, and the Head of the corner, and the Corner-stone, and because the rock represented this Table, which gave drink to Israel of old." At the same time wood is frequently employed; and in the poor country villages of Greece, earth is sometimes the only material. Wooden altars were in use among the Syro-Jacobites till the year 900; at which time a Synod, convoked by the Jacobite Patriarch, John Abgari², decreed in its first Canon, that "in all cities, villages, and places, which are in the enjoyment of perfect peace, and where there is no hindrance from the persecution of the barbarians, but the Altars can be guarded with safety, there they should be fixed. And it is forbidden to celebrate on, or to name, wooden Altars." The injunction, however, was by no means universally obeyed, and even to this day wooden Altars are not uncommon among the village churches of the Syro-Jacobites. Indeed they are expressly allowed by the office for the consecration of an Altar: the rubric says, "In the first place let a *table*, i. e. *mensa*, be prepared of chosen and precious wood, or of marble or some other stone³." In Egypt they are now commonly of stone; and this in that country was the more usual rule, as there are not wanting⁴ examples in the churches along the Nile, and in the Desert of Cells, to prove⁵. In the larger and

¹ Ἀπὸ λίθου δὲ τὸ θυσιαστήριον, ὅτι Χριστὸν εἰκονίζει, ὅς καὶ πέτρα ἀνθρώπων, ὡς θεμέλιον ἡμῶν, καὶ κεφαλὴ γυναικας, καὶ λίθος ἀκρόγωνος, καὶ ὅτι πέτρα πάλαι ταυτὴν ἐμμεῖτο τὴν τράπεζαν, ἣ τὸν πάλαι ποτιζούσα Ἰσραὴλ.

² Asseman, B. O. iii. 238. The Synod is certain; but either it was not held under John, or not till 908, in which year he succeeded Dionysius.—Le Quien, iii. 1376.

³ The office is quoted by Renaudot,

Lit. Or. ii. 56. ed. 1847.

⁴ Alvarez, Descripcão, &c. Renaudot, Lit. Or. 164.

⁵ This qualifies Sala's assertion, who quotes S. Augustine, (cont. Crescon. iii. 43,) where he mentions the murder of the Bishop of Bagaja by the Donatists, who killed him with the wooden fragments of the Altar, which they pulled down over him: also De Baptism. v. 20. Whence he concludes, "Dubium non est, quin circa hoc tem-

more magnificent churches, especially those that were the glory of the reign of Justinian, such as All Apostles at Constantinople, and S. John at Ephesus, the Altars seem to have been of silver plated with gold; while that of S. Sophia was of pure gold. Into the molten mass pearls and other gems were thrown; it was then richly chased, and inlaid with rubies, crystal, topazes, onyxes, sapphires, and other jewels of inestimable value. Basil the Macedonian afterwards erected a golden Altar in the private chapel of the palace^a.

14. The Eastern Altar in its form in no degree differs from those of the West. Solid masses of masonry were and are not uncommon; in poor country places, tables, not unlike those of English villages, may be found; while the more usual arrangement in earlier Constantinopolitan churches was a mensa supported on four or six stone shafts. We find Pope Vigilius embracing the shafts of the Altar in the church of S. Euphemia at Chalcedon^a.

15. A more important observation is, that, throughout the whole East, one church contains but one Altar. This has been the case from the time of S. Ignatius, who, as every one knows, speaks of "the one Altar and the one Bishop," through that of S. Athanasius^b, Theodoret^c, Palladius^d, S. Germanus, down to the present day, when we find Bulgari thus writing; "On account of the oneliness of the Sacrifice the Eastern Church customarily uses only one Table in each church, and only one Liturgy in each day^e." Nor is this peculiar to the Church of Constantinople; the rule is also observed in Ethiopia, Egypt, Syria, Malabar, by Nestorians and Jacobites, in short, over the whole East. In Russia only, a country which, from its frequent oppression

pus altaria lignea tantum mensæ in Africa et Ægypto fuerint." Whatever were the case in Africa, certainly it was not universally so in Egypt.

^a Paul Silent., and Du Cange, Constantinopolis Christiana, lib. iii. This Altar seems to have been the same with, or recast from, that which was given by S. Pulcheria and Theodosius the Younger to the Church of Constantinople, and which is described by So-

zomen, ix. 1, and Nicephorus, xiv. 2.

^a Vigil. .Pap. Epist. Encycl. ap. Labbe, Conc., tom. vi. 409. Theophanes ad ann. 20. Justinian.

^b Ad Orthodox., tom. i. p. 945.

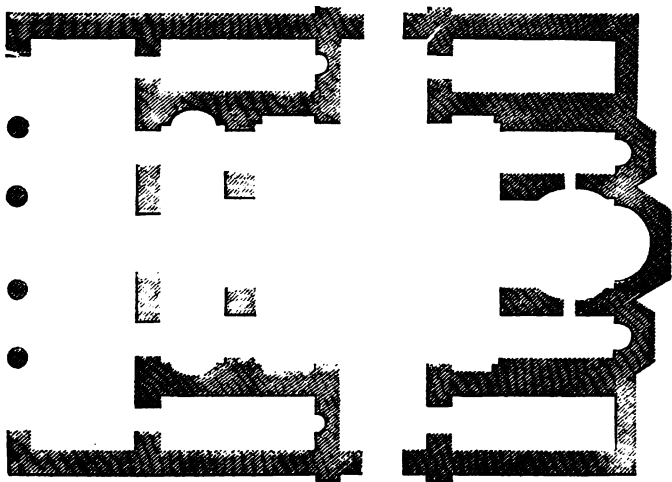
^c Hist. Eccl., lib. i. cap. 31.

^d Hist. Lausiæ, cap. vi.

^e διὰ τὸ ἐνιαῖον τῆς θυσίας μίαν μόνην Τράπεζαν συνηθίζει ἡ ἀνατολικὴ Ἑκκλησία εἰς κάθε ναὸν, καὶ μίαν μόνην Λειτουργίαν εἰς πᾶσαν ἡμέραν.

by the Poles, has acquired some features of Latinism, there is sometimes, though very rarely, more than one Altar to be found in one Church. Nor are there wanting examples of this practice in the East, from the earliest times; thus, in the church of the Holy Sepulchre there were three Altars; and in that of S. Mary, in the Valley of Jehoshaphat, there were four, as early as the seventh century, as we learn from Arnulphus^f, Bishop of Paris, who at that time visited them.

16. Throughout the East, but more especially in the Archipelago and in Greece, chapels, or *parecclesia*^g, are not unfrequently found attached to churches: and these have each their own Altar: but then they are *bona fide* distinct; not, as in the Latin church, the prolongation of an aisle, or an aisle itself: as the accompanying ground-plan will prove, which is that of the church of the celebrated Monastery at Daphni^h.



GROUND-PLAN OF THE MONASTERY-CHURCH AT DAPHNI.

And, it may be remarked, that such *parecclesia* are generally found where there has been considerable contact with the Latin Communion; and more especially in Abbey

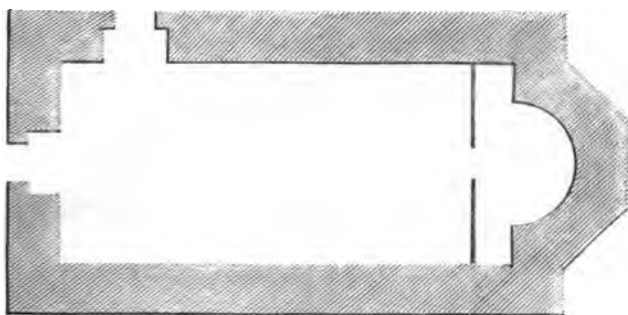
^f Ap. Adamnan. de locis Sanctis, i. 2.

^g They are also called παραλήσια, by an easy corruption. Agapius, Geopo-

nic. 87, εἶδα τινὰς ἱερεῖς οὐκοῦν ἐπὶ τὴν γὰρ λειτουργήσουσι εἰς τὴν παραλήσιον.

^h This is from Couchaud, pl. 18.

churches, for a reason well stated¹ by Bulgari; namely that, where several Priests resided together, who might wish to celebrate on the same day, they were forced to have more than one Altar for the purpose, in order that the Canon, forbidding more than a single celebration on the same Holy Table in the same day, might not be violated. These chapels are sometimes absolutely detached from the church, and stand at a little distance, sometimes occupy a different position in the same range of monastic buildings. It is usual to celebrate in them in honour, on the Monday, of the Angels, on the Tuesday, of the Mother of God, on the Wednesday, of the Forerunner, on the Thursday, of the Apostles, on the Friday, of the Cross, on the Saturday, of the departed Faithful. There is a detached chapel of this kind at Androussa in Peloponnesus, which I give².



CHAPEL AT ANDROUSSA.

17. Over the Altar, and supported on four shafts, hung the canopy, baldachin, or *ciborium*. This was usually in the shape of a half sphere, and terminated in a cross: that in S. Sophia was of silver-gilt; the lily work below the dome, the ball on which the cross rested, and the cross itself, of pure gold. We find the same thing in general use in the early Latin Church, where it was called the *umbra-*

¹ Τούτη εἶναι ἡ αἰτία, ὅπου καὶ εἰς τὰ Μοναστήρια οἱ Πατέρες μας, διὰ νὰ ἡμποροῦν νὰ ἔχουν πλέον παρὰ μίαν Λειτουργίαν τὴν ἡμέραν, τὰ παρεκκλήσια καλούμενα πάντοτε τὰ χωρίζουν ἀπὸ τοῦ πρώτου Ναοῦ μὲ κάποιον μεστέυχον, καὶ

τὰ περισσότερα ἔχουν εἰσοδὸν μερικὴν, καὶ διάφορον ἀπὸ τὴν τῆς ἐκκλησίας, διὰ νὰ φυλαχθῇ εἰς τέτοιον τρόπον ἡ ἀρχαία παράδοσις.

² Couchaud, pl. 28.

*lum*¹ *Altaris*, and sometimes the *propitiatorium*. The beautiful erection in the venerable basilic of S. Paul, near Rome, is an example; there are equally grand specimens in S. Ambrogio at Milan, and S. Mark at Venice. That made by S. Leo III. for the basilic of S. Peter weighed 2704 pounds of pure silver. S. Germanus calls the ciborium the cibotus, (unless that be a corrupt reading,) and explains it mystically to signify the Heaven, while the Altar means the earth; and thus, as it is written that God wrought salvation in the midst of the earth, so the Priest offers the Mystic Sacrifice on the midst of the Altar. We also find the ciborium termed the *encaluptra*^m. Between the pillars which supported the dome were stretched curtains of silk; but this ornament is not now retained in the East; it is, however, as early as the time of S. Cyrilⁿ. It was also well known to the Western Church^o, under the title of *tettravelum*, *tetravilum*^p, or *endothys*^q, the latter a manifest corruption of *ἐνδύτης*, its occasional name in the East. It was perhaps a hanging of this kind, formed of rose-coloured silk, crusuly of gold, and wrought with pearls, that Michael Palæologus^r sent as a present to Rome.

18. I must here speak of that extraordinary appurtenance of the Ethiopic Church, the *tabout*, or ark. It is the belief of that Church that the original ark is preserved in the cathedral of Axum, and, in imitation of that, every parish church is also furnished with an ark, which is preserved in the sanctuary, and forms the principal object in Ecclesiastical processions. The question as to its contents is involved

¹ Martene, Ant. Eccl. Rit. iii. 360, gives the form for the consecration of an umbraculum.

^m So some verses of S. Theodore Studites,

*θείας τραπέζης ἐγκαλύπτραν ἐμβλέπων
χειροβικην νόμιζε ταξιαρχίαν.*

ⁿ That is, if we may follow Du Cange in thus explaining the passage of S. Cyril in his treatise De Adorat. *Πρεσβυτέρους πεπιστευται τὸ θυσιαστήριον, καὶ τὰ ἔσω τοῦ καταπεδάματος, οἷς πρέπει λέγεσθαι, καὶ φυλάξουσιν τὴν ἱερὰν αὐτῶν*, of the veil of the ciborium

rather than of that which frequently supplied the place of the iconostasia.

^o So Anastasius, Biblioth. in Vit. Paschalis Papæ. *Fecit etiam in circuitu Altaris vela rubea serica quatuor, cum gammadiis.* And of S. Leo III., *Vela alba holoserica rosata, quæ pendunt in arcu de ciborio, numero quatuor.*

^p Anastasius Bibl., pp. 127, 144, 145.

^q Hieronym. *Rubeus, de Maximiano* Archiep. Ravenn.

^r Pachymeres, v. 17.

in mystery. It is absolutely asserted by Major Harris* to contain nothing except a parchment inscribed with the date of the dedication of the building; but the man who boasts of having employed Frank gold to bribe the Priests to a discovery of a sacred mystery, cannot justly wonder if he were deceived at last. In the prayers of consecration, which precede the Ethiopic Canon, after the dedication of the paten, the chalice, and the spoon, there follows a prayer to be said over the *ark* to this effect†; "O LORD our God, Who didst command Moses Thy servant and prophet, saying, Make Me precious vessels, and put them in the tabernacle on Mount Sinai, now, O LORD GOD Almighty, stretch forth Thy hand upon this ark, and fill it with the virtue, power, and grace of Thy HOLY GHOST, that in it may be consecrated the Body and Blood of Thine only-begotten Son, our LORD," &c. Renaudot professes his ignorance what this ark is, but suggests that it may be a box for the reservation of the chalice and paten, *like the tabout*. Undoubtedly it *is* the tabout, which thus is simply used for the reservation of the blessed Sacrament: and this at once explains the mystery which attaches to it, the reverence exhibited to it", and the place destined for its reception.

19. The Altars of the Eastern Church are consecrated as those in the Latin, but a peculiar use prevails in the former which is unknown in the latter: it is the employment of consecrated corporals, called *antiminsia*‡, which are used for celebration where the Altar is itself unconsecrated: the office for their dedication is to be found in Goar¶. It can only take place

* Highlands of Ethiopia, iii. 138.

† Renaudot, Lit. Or. i. 474.

‡ Harris. "Young and old, rich and poor, prostrate themselves to the ground as the *idol* (!) is carried in procession through the streets under the great umbrellas; and when replaced in its case in the Holy of Holies, the air is rent by the attendant Priests with shouts of 'The temple of the eternal God!'" If the ark consecrated as above be really different from the *tabout*, as Renaudot seems to believe, it may per-

haps apply to this 'case' for its reception.

§ A dispute exists both as to the spelling and the derivation of the word. The Greeks always spell it *antiminsia*, and derive it from *μύσος*, a canister; (Joann. Citrens. in Jure Gr. Rom. lib. v.;) and I accordingly adopt their orthography; though the derivation from *mensa*, which would spell it *antimensia*, and explain it as the substitute of a table, seems to me the most probable.

¶ Eucholog., p. 648.

at the consecration of a church, but several antiminsia may be hallowed at the same time. Relics being pounded up with fragrant gum, oil is poured over them by the Bishop, and, distilling on to the corporals, is supposed to convey to them the mysterious virtue of the relics themselves. The Holy Eucharist must then be celebrated on them for seven^a days, after which they are sent forth as they may be wanted. It is usual that the date of dedication be written or worked on them. That in use in the Russian ambassador's chapel in London, was consecrated by Samuel, Patriarch of Alexandria, and bears the following inscription; καθιερώθην παρὰ τοῦ μακαριωτάτου καὶ παναγιωτάτου παπᾶ καὶ πατριάρχου τῆς μεγάλης πόλεως Ἀλεξανδρείας, καὶ κρίτου τῆς οἰκουμένης, κυρίου κυρίου σαμουὴλ ἐν ἔτει σωτηρίῳ Αψις ἰουνίου Α. ἰνδικτιῶνος Ι. The Syrians do not use these antiminsia, but in their place consecrate *mensæ*^a or slabs of wood. Another difference is that, whereas on a consecrated Altar the Greeks do not employ antiminsia^b, but only *heileta*, or unconsecrated corporals, the Syrians use their consecrated *mensæ* indifferently in cases where the Altar has and has not been consecrated. Where there is neither consecrated *mensa* nor Altar, there, according to them, the Liturgy may be celebrated on a leaf of the Gospel.

20. The following is the Eastern method of vesting the Altar. At the angles of the *mensa* are placed four small pieces of cloth^c, symbolizing the four evangelists, called from them, and adorned with their respective emblems; over these the *calasarka*^d of silk or stuff is spread, having four

^a Matthæus Blastares; τὰ ἀντιμίνσια τῆς ἀγιαστικῆς μετέχουσι δυνάμεως, ἢ αὐτοῖς τῆς καθιερώσεως τῶν νεωττὶ ἀνειρομένων ναῶν ἀκολουθία, καὶ ἡ ἐπταήμερος ἐν τῷ ἐκαὶ θυσιαστηρίῳ καίμένοις ἱερουργία χαρίζεται.

^b Nomocanon Syr. l. 5. ap. Renaudot. Lit. Or. ii. 46.

^c So Manuel Charitopulus, Patriarch of Constantinople, (1215—1221,) expressly, "It is not necessary that antiminsia should be placed on all holy tables, but only on those, the conse-

cration of which is uncertain. The antiminsia hold the place of consecrated tables, nor is their use necessary where it is certain that the table has been consecrated."—*Jus. Gr. Rom.*, p. 238.

^d S. Symeon Thessalon. Πρῶτον τὰ τέσσαρα ὀφάσματα τίθενται κατὰ τέσσαρας γωνίας τῆς ἁγίας τραπέζης, τὰ ὀνόματα τῶν εὐαγγελιστῶν ἕκαστον ἐνέχοντα.—So also J. B. Thiers, *Dissert. sur les principaux Autels*, p. 157.

^e S. Symeon. Μετὰ δὲ τοὺς εὐαγγε-

strings or tassels at its extremity; and over this the ἐπένδυσις^e, otherwise called ἐπενδύτης or τραπεζόφορον, the exterior covering, and generally worked with crosses. The colour of these vestments is perfectly immaterial, and does not, as in the Latin Church, vary with the seasons, except that in Lent it is usually red.

21. The Altar, though always vested, is, according to the use of the Eastern Church, furnished with its candlesticks and other ornaments during the holy Liturgy only; at other times the Book of the Gospels^f lies on it, and the Cross stands on or over it. The Gospels have always occupied that position in the East^g, as, during primitive and early mediæval times, they appear to have done in the West. A remarkable example of this occurs in the Altars represented in the frescoes of the Baptistry at Ravenna. (A.D. 430^h.)

λιστὰς λεγομένους τὰ τέσσαρα ταῦτα, τὸ κατὰ σάρκα τίθεται· ὁ δὲ ὁλοῖ τὴν σίνδωνα ἐπὶ τῷ νεκρωθέντι δι' ἡμῶν θείῳ σώματι. And so in the dedication of a church, (Goar, p. 838.) λαμβάνει ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς τὸ λεγόμενον κατὰ σάρκα, ὃ ἐστὶ σάβανον καινὸν, ἢ λιτὸν ὕφασμα παρηρτημένους ἔχων εἰς τὰ τέσσαρα ἄκρα σχοίνους λεπτούς· οὗ τῇ τραπέζῃ ἐφ' αὐτῷ δεσμοῦνται σχοίνοι, ἢ σταυροειδῶς ὑποκάτωθεν τῆς τραπέζης, ἢ κατὰ τοὺς κίονας. It is worthy of observation that this rubric could not literally be obeyed, where the Altar was a solid erection.

• S. Symeon. Εἴτα τὸ τραπεζόφορον ἐφαπλούται, ὅπερ λαμπρότερον εἰς τὸν πορτὴς δόξης τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐστίν, ὅτι καθέδρα Θεοῦ τὸ θυσιαστήριον. And the office of dedication, λαμβάνει τὸ ἄπλωμα, ἡτοι τὴν ἐπένδυσιν τῆς ἁγίας τραπέζης.

^f Thiers says very well (Diss. p. 36.) "Autrefois cependant on l'y laissait le jour et la nuit, dans l'Eglise Latine comme dans l'Eglise Grecque, avec cette différence néanmoins, que l'usage constant de l'Eglise Grecque étoit de

l'y laisser, au lieu que dans l'Eglise Latine on avoit la liberté de l'y laisser, ou de ne l'y pas laisser." This is proved by the expression of Ratherius of Verona; "Super altare nihil ponatur, nisi capsæ cum reliquiis Sanctorum, aut FORTE quatuor Sancta DEI Evangelia, &c." But it would seem that in the Gallican and Spanish Churches the Greek rule, as so often, was observed,—if we may judge from the Canon of the Council of Rheims (A.D. 819.) on that subject. "Nihil super altare ponatur nisi capsæ cum Sanctorum reliquiis, et quatuor Evangelia;" where the omission of the word *forte* seems to leave the point no longer optional.

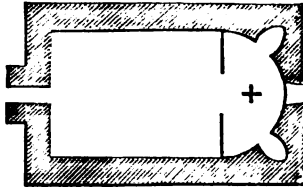
• Goar, very truly, "Evangelium, Altaris medio perpetuo incumbens, CHRISTUM Regem Throno Suo insedentem manifestat." p. 122. note 57. So Smith also, (p. 68,) "the holy, divine, and mystical table; where as in the proper place the Gospels lie, and over which there is a Cross, as a memorial of the death of CHRIST."

^h Webb's Continental Ecclesiology, p. 427. He gives a cut of one of these.

22. The Altar was frequently raised on a footpace, *κρηπίς*, of one or two steps, but oftener without such an arrangement.

23. The next point is the piscina. The usual position of this was under the Altar: it is sometimes called *χονί* or *χορευίον*¹, but it is more commonly termed *θάλασσα* or *θαλασσίδιον*, in reference to the trench which the Prophet Elijah made round the Altar on which he called down fire from heaven. A singular use of this appurtenance to the Altar is directed by the rubric in the office of the reception of the great and angelic², i. e. monastic, habit: the evening before it is assumed, it is laid in the thalassa, that it may, as it were, receive sanctification from the Altar, and may seem to come from the hand of God Himself. The *θάλασσα*, however, is occasionally found in the chapel of prothesis; as is the case in the present Patriarchal church at Constantinople¹.

24. A considerable supply of water was of course necessary for the services of the church. The obtaining this, where springs are far apart, was sometimes a work of difficulty, and curiously provided for: for example, the chapel of Sakharbet in Mingrelia^m has two small reservoirs towards the east end, into which the rain-water is collected from the roof, and where it is preserved for use.



Ground plan of Chapel of Sakharbet.

25. Two peculiarities of Eastern churches may here be mentioned. The first relates to the Nestorians. The Holy of Holies with them does not, as in the rest of the East, signify the sanctuary; but a small recess at the east end, where none, not even the Priest, is allowed to enter, and

¹ This name is seldom used by Ritualists; and I am not aware that it once occurs in the Euchology. It is thus explained by Bulgari; *eis αὐτο χωρεύεται τὸ νερόν* (the water) *μέ τὸ ποῖον πλύνουν οἱ ἱεουργοῦντες τὰς χεῖρας καθὼς ἀκόμη καὶ τὸ Ἀγίασμα τοῦ Βαπτίσματος.*

² Ἀφ' ἐστέρας εἰσφέρονται τὰ ἱμάτια τοῦ μέλλοντος λαβεῖν τὸ ἅγιον σχῆμα, καὶ ἀποτίθενται ἐν τῇ θαλασσιδίῳ τῆς ἁγίας τραπέζης.

¹ Covell, Gr. Church, p. 14.

^m This ground-plan is from M. Du-bois de Montpereux.

where there is nothing but a Crossⁿ. The second refers to the Ethiopians. Attached to the east end of the sanctuary is a small building called *Bethlehem*, where the holy Oblation is prepared by the Deacon alone, at the oven with which it is furnished. This is also the case in some part of the Coptic Church, especially in the Desert of Cells^o.

26. The *synthronus*, or seat of the Bishop with his attendant Priests, need not detain us long, inasmuch as the arrangement is not peculiar to the East, but simply retained there after becoming obsolete in the West. It runs round the interior of the apse, and is in the rubrics of the Euchology known by the name of the ἡ ἄνω καθέδρα. The most remarkable example of this arrangement in Italy is at Torcello: but the majority of the Roman basilics retain it. On the opposite side of the Adriatic there are excellent specimens in Parenzo cathedral, built by the Bishop Euphrasius in 540; and at Pola: at Spalato is a modern synthronus, erected by the celebrated Archbishop de Dominis^p; and on its being objected that he had literally raised himself above the Altar, he counteracted the objection by suspending a lofty ciborium over it. I shall give several examples of the synthronus in the following chapters, especially in the cathedral of Pitzounda, and the churches of Midiah and Inkerman. The arrangement was almost universal in the East.

27. On the north of the Altar is the chapel of prothesis. I shall hereafter have occasion to notice at length the remarkable rites with which, on the table of prothesis, the holy Oblations are prepared for the 'Great Entrance' to the Altar. The table itself is usually placed against the east wall; sometimes, as in the present Patriarchal church at Constantinople, there is an additional table on the north side for the reception of the elements before they are removed to the prothesis. The chapel is usually divided by a wall from the bema, a passage being pierced through it; sometimes it is separated by a screen; and in poor country churches has

ⁿ Etherege, *Syrian Churches*, p. 109.

^o "The oven behind the sacristy, used for the baking the sacramental bread."—Tischendorff, *Travels in the*

East, (p. 51,) where he is speaking of the Desert of Cells.

^p Wilkinson's *Dalmatia*, p. 131.

occasionally no division at all. In some chapels of Greece, the Altar and prothesis are one and the same erection. When divided by a wall, the space round the prothesis, as also that round the diaconicon, is named *parabema*. I may observe, that it is very rare to meet with more than *one* door from the bema to the prothesis. The cathedral of Tchesemay, which I shall presently notice, has two; in some few cases there is none.

28. On the opposite side of the bema was the diaconicon or sacristy; it is also known as the *μετατώριον*^α, *μεσατώριον*^β, and *μυστατώριον*, and very frequently *σκευοφυλάκιον*. It communicates with the Altar in the same way as the prothesis; but has generally an external door also. The situation of the diaconicon is not so absolutely fixed as that of the prothesis: we find instances (as for example in the church of Nakolakevi, hereafter to be noticed) where it is quite pushed out of its usual place: and there are very frequently two. So it was in S. Sophia; so, probably, in the cathedral of Tchesemay; so in the monastery church of Daphni. The frescoes in the diaconicon are frequently the icons of saintly deacons; as S. Stephen, S. Benjamin, &c. The twenty-first canon of Laodicea^γ forbids the inferior orders to enter this part of the church: it was, however, of course, considered beyond all comparison inferior in sanctity to the bema or the prothesis; and we find the Emperor Leo when excommunicated by the Patriarch Nicolas for having contracted a fourth marriage, performing his devotions in the *mitatorion* of S. Sophia^δ.

29. We come now to the iconostasis. I must first again guard against the mistake which would confound this with the rood-screen. The rood-screen, as every one knows, separates nave and choir; the iconostasis, choir and bema: and consequently corresponds precisely to our Altar rails. All the references therefore to the iconostasis in defence

^α Theod. Lect. Eclog. i. Οἱ ἐπί-
βουλοι Εὐφημίου παρεσκεύασαν ἔμπροσ-
θεν τοῦ μετατωρίου ξίφος κατ' αὐτοῦ γυμ-
νῶσαι.

^β Eucholog. κατέρχεται ὁ ἀγιώτατος
πατριάρχης ἐν τῷ μεσατωρίῳ ἔχουν δια-
κονικῶς.

^γ οὐ δεῖ ὑπηρέτας χάραν ἔχειν ἐν τῷ
διακονικῷ.

^δ Cedrenus, in Leone Basilii. διὰ
ταυτὴν οὖν τὴν αἰτίαν ὁ πατριάρχης εἰς
τὴν ἐκκλήσιαν εἰσέρχεσθαι ἐκάλυε τὸν
βασίλειον. Ὅθεν διὰ τοῦ δεξιῦ μέρους
διήρχετο εἰς τὸ μετατώριον.

of the rood-screen are utterly futile, except so far as they prove that the East, as well as the West, refuses to expose the Altar to the gaze of common worshippers. Rood-screens are, indeed, not only highly necessary, but most easily defensible by antiquity: but the iconostasis cannot be alleged in their defence.

The iconostasis derives its name from the icons there depicted. In its general arrangement, it resembles an English rood-screen: only (the mysteries being absolutely to be veiled from the eyes of the people) the panels are solid to the top. It has three doors; that in the centre conducting directly to the bema; that to the right to the diaconicon; that to the left to the prothesis; through the latter, of course, the great entrance is made. On the right of the central door, on entering, is the icon of our LORD; on the left, that of the Mother of God: the others are arranged according to the taste or devotion of the architect or founder.

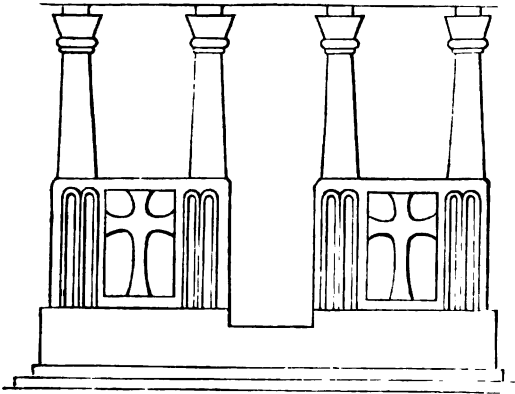
That of S. Sophia will give a very good idea of the richer kind. The material was silver. The lower stage was wrought in arabesques or flowers; the second was composed of twelve columns, (I suppose twelve on each side of the holy doors,) twining two and two: supporting above a rich crest-work of chased metal, and filled in between with panels: the latter wrought, in oval medallions, with icons of our LORD and His Blessed Mother, the Prophets and Apostles, and the monogram of Justinian and Theodora*. That of S. Peter in the

* This I gather from the description ment. The verses of that author are of S. Sophia, but especially from the well worth quoting, though obscure. Silentiary's, to have been the arrange-

καὶ γὰρ ὅσον μέγαλοιο πρὸς ὄρθριον ἄντυγα ναοῦ
χωρὸν ἀναιμάκτοισιν ἀνεκρίναντο θυηλαῖς,
οὐκ ἐλέφας, οὐ μῆμα λίθων, ἢ χαλκὸς δρίζει,
ἀλλ' ὄλον ἐθρίγκωσαν ὑπ' ἀργυρέοισι μετάλλοις*
οὐδὲ μὲν οὐδὲ μόνοις ἐπὶ τείχεσιν, ὀππόσα Μύσστην
ἄνθρα πολυγλώσσοιο διακρίνουσιν ὁμίλου

(i. e. separate the celebrant from the choir)
γυμνὰς ἀργυρέας ἔβαλε πλάκας* ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτοὺς
κίονας ἀργυρέοισιν ὄλους ἐκάλυψε μετάλλοις,
τηλεβόλοις σελάεσσι λελαμπότας ἐξάκι διοῦς*
οἷς ἔπι, καλλιπύργοιο χερὸς τεχνήμονι ῥυθμῷ
ὀξυτέρους κύκλοιο χάλυψ κοιλήματο δίσκους κ.τ.λ.

Palace^a, built by Basil the Macedonian, and considered very elegant, was of marble. Frequently they were of brass^v. That of S. Catherine^a at Mount Sinai is of ivory, tortoise-shell, and silver. That at Megalo Castro in Crete was, I believe, of wood plated with silver. That of the Church of the Apostles^a at Constantinople, built by Constantine, of copper gilt. That of the celebrated church at Tyre, of admirably wrought wood^b. At the present day, they are generally made of wood, what would be the pierced part in a Western rood-screen being panelled and painted. In Attica they are found of plain deal. Nothing can well be more hideous than modern attempts at the iconostasis; as for example that at Baloukli, near Constantinople, by the spring of the miraculous fishes, and that at most of the churches in S. Petersburg, except S. Isaac, which, in its way, is fine. That at S. Theodore, Pergamus, may be mentioned as a very good arabesque specimen. Of the doors I shall speak presently: over the central one is usually a cross, sometimes a crucifix, answering in effect, though not in plan, to the great rood of the Western church. The earliest iconostasis with which I



ICONOSTASIS AT TEPEKERMAN

^a Theophanes. Hom. 55: τὸ δὲ τῆς ἑβδόμου τελετῆς χώριον μαρμάρων θύραξ τοῖς ἱερεῦσι περικλείει.

^v So the Chronicon Casinense, though speaking of a Western church. Lib. iii. 33. Fecit itaque et cancellos

fusile ex ære ante Altare, scilicet inter chorum at adytum statuendos.

^b Wellsted's Arabia, ii. 95.

^a Euseb. Vit. Constant. iv. 59.

^b Euseb. Hist. Eccles. vii.

am acquainted as now remaining, is that in the Arian crypt-church of Tepekerman in the Crimea, which may be referred to about A.D. 350. The preceding is the western view: for in this case, it is returned, and forms a kind of parclose on the north side of the bema.

30. The various names by which the iconostasis is known next engage our attention. The name by which I have called it, and by which it is generally distinguished in the West, is not that which is most frequent in the East. It is known by the appellation of the *κυγκλίδες*^c, the *κάγγελος*^d, the *δρύφακτος*^e or *δρύφακτοι*, whence Pachymeres compounds the verb *περιδρυφρακτοῦσθαι*, the *κάγκελα*^f, the *κιόνια καὶ στήθεα*, and of old by Eusebius the *δίκτυα ἀπὸ ξύλου*. It is clear from the names given, in various ages, to the iconostasis, that it was at first a much lighter screen than at present, and much more nearly resembling the open work of a rood-screen. It is expounded by S. Gregory Nazianzen mystically of the division between the present and the eternal world, as Western canonists explain our own rood-screen^g.

31. The doors, but more especially the central door, are also furnished with a veil. This is known by the name of the *βημόθυρον*^h, *βηλόθυρον*, *βῆλον*, by a barbarous admixture of Latin and Greek; by earlier writers it is termed the *θεῖον*ⁱ *παραπέτασμα*, and the *ἀμφίθυρον*^j. On the central

^c Porphyrogen. in Basil. 55: καὶ αἱ τῶν ἐκτὸς διεργούσαι τὰ θυσιαστήρια κυγκλίδες, καὶ τὰ ἐν αὐταῖς περίστολα.

^d Cyril. Scythop. in vit. S. Euthym.: ἔχων τὰς χεῖρας ἐπεστηριγμέναις τῷ καγγέλῳ τοῦ ἱερατείου θεωρεῖ αἰφνίδιον, ὅτι πῦρ οὐρανθεν κατελθὼν ἐπάνω ἠπλώθη τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου.

^g Carm. xi. The lines are elegant:

τῇ σεπτὸν τοπάρειθε σοφῶν ἔδος ἔρκος ἀρίστων
βῆμα, τὸ δ' ἀγγελίῃσι χοροστασίῃσι τεθῆλδς
κυγκλίδα τὴν μεμῶτην κόσμων δύο, τοῦτε μένοντος,
τρυῖτε περιπταμένοιο, θεῶν ὕρον, ἡμερίωντε.

^h So the Etymology: ἀνοίξας τὸ βημόθυρον μόνον ἐκφανεῖ. The word has found its way into the West. So Guilielmus Bibliothecarius, writing of Pope Stephen. Fecit in eadem basilica belo-

^e Pachymeres. ix. 1: περιαιρεθέντων δὲ καὶ τῶν τοῦ τρικλίνου μακρῶς δρυφάκτων δι' ὅλου ὡς καθαρὸς παρὰ πάντων θεῶτο δ' εὐφημοῦμενος.

^f S. German. Theor. Myst.: κιόνια ἦτοι στήθεα, διαχωρίζοντα τὸ βῆμα ἀπὸ τοῦ λοιποῦ ναοῦ, καὶ κάγκελά εἰσι τῆς προσευχῆς τόπον δηλοῦντα, κ.τ.λ.

thera quatuor, ex quibus unum auro textum.

ⁱ S. Dionys. ad Demophil.

S. Chrysost., Serm. III. in Eph. Theoph. Simocat. v. 14.

veil S. Michael is frequently represented, as if prohibiting all profane access to the bema. It was on the *βηλόθυρον* that S. Epiphanius saw the pictorial representation which gave him so much offence. The Armenian Church does not, at present, use the iconostasis, but employs a veil instead. I say *at present*, for there is not much doubt that it formerly possessed the same arrangement as the rest of the East^k.

32. The doors in the iconostasis are known collectively by the name of *καγκελλοθυρίδες*, *πόρται τοῦ ἁγίου βήματος*: the side ones by those of *πλάγμαι*, or *παραπόρτια*. The central door, usually called the holy doors, *ἅγιοι θυραί*, will claim much more of our attention in settling the names bestowed on it, and on the other doors of the church, a subject enveloped by Greek ritualists in almost inextricable mystery. But first we must observe, that it is only opened at the commencement of the Great Vespers, at all entrances, whether at Vespers or in the Liturgy, and from the invitation of the Priest in the Liturgy to approach, to the conclusion of the Holy Communion.

33. It is clear that in every Byzantine church there may be, though there seldom are, four sets of doors; 1, those which enter the narthex from the outside; 2, those which lead from the narthex to the trapeza; 3, those which lead from the trapeza to the choir; 4, those which lead from the choir to the bema. It is true that the third set seldom exist, but they are occasionally found. Now the names of these several doors are variously given by various ritualists; nay, the same writer will contradict himself as to their use. For example, the royal doors are usually taken to signify those between the nave and narthex, but Bulgari^l and modern ritualists make them synonymous with the holy doors, i. e. those of the bema. Again; Goar in one place^m makes the beautiful gates those that separate choir from trapeza; in another, those that separate trapezaⁿ from narthex. The same writer in one place makes the silver gates^o those by which the trapeza is

^k Mouravieff, Armenia, ii. 72 seq.

compared with description at p. 14.

Bulgari, p. 56: *αἱ θύραι τοῦ ἁγίου βήματος* . . . *εἶναι τρεῖς ἡ κυρίως βασιλικῇ, ἡ ἐς τὸ μέσον, κ.τ.λ.*

ⁿ Eucholog., Plate, p. 21, as compared with the description, p. 22.

^o Plate, p. 13.

^m Eucholog., Plate, opp. p. 12, as

divided from the narthex, in another the exterior doors^p of the narthex.

84. We begin with the central doors of the bema. There is no manner of doubt that these, and none but these, are called the holy doors, *ἅγιοι θύραι*, or *ἅγια θύρια*. Thus they are always named in the Euchology, and references are needless to prove so well-known a fact. It appears also equally clear that they are *sometimes* called the royal doors. Of modern writers Bulgari names them so expressly: Goar^q also agrees with him; and of ancient writers, the author of the life of S. Theodard^r. But the consensus is very strong in favour of the doors that divide trapeza and narthex being so named. The Typicum has this rubric: "And going out into the narthex, and having censured the brethren also that are there in order, he goes within the royal doors," &c.; and, after some other directions, "enters the bema^s." So also Mark^t, in his treatise on doubtful Typica: "He censures, beginning from the holy doors, as far as the royal gates." It may be said that though these two passages clearly distinguish the royal from the holy doors, they do not entirely prove that the former are the interior ones of the narthex, inasmuch as they might be those that separate choir and nave. The context of the passage from Mark makes this clear: "Having accomplished his censuring, and being *about to enter into the naos*, he makes a cross before the royal doors^u." Now no one would say that he who was already in the trapeza was about to enter into the naos. So again Anastasius, in his life of Pope Honorius, speaks of the "large royal doors^x at the *entrance of the church*, which are called medianæ." And again, the anonymous writer of the oration on the restitution of

^p P. 24. l. 4, from the bottom.

^q Eucholog., p. 25.

^r Composuit solium devotus carmine claro:

Erexit Regias undique magnificas.

^s ἐξελθὼν δὲ εἰς τὸν νάρθηκα καὶ θυμιάσας κλνταῦθα τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς κατὰ τάξιν, ὑποστρέφει, καὶ εἰσελθὼν ἔσω τῆς βασιλικῆς πύλης χαράττει μετὰ τοῦ θυματοῦ σταυρὸν, καὶ . . . εἰσελθὼν εἰς τὸ ἅγιον βῆμα ἴσταται ἔμπροσθεν τῆς ἁγίας τραπέζης.

^t καὶ θυμῷ τὸν ἕτερον ἀρχόμενος

ἀπὸ τῶν ἁγίων θυρῶν, καὶ κατερχόμενος μέχρι τῶν βασιλικῶν πυλῶν.

^u πληρώσας δὲ τὸ θυμιᾶν καὶ μέλλον εἰσιέναι ἐν τῇ ναῷ χαράττει σταυρὸν ἔμπροσθεν τῶν βασιλικῶν πυλῶν.

^x Investivit Regias in ingressu Ecclesiae majores, quae appellantur Medianae, ex argento.

icons tells us that the multitude came through the city in procession as far as the royal doors, which are called *Ctenariæ*¹. *Why* they were so called it is hard to say. Du Cange imagines that the appellation may have arisen from their being cancellated with wood-work like the teeth of a comb. The passages I have quoted make it perfectly clear that, in mediæval Greece, the royal gates were those which separated nave and narthex. But it is equally certain that in later times those which divide the narthex² from the porch are so called. Such modern writers as Bulgari and Spiridion Blautes are most express. I, however, shall use the word in the ancient sense³.

35. The next question is, what were the silver gates. Here Du Cange and Allatius agree, that they were the same as the royal doors. The point is easily settled^b. The origin of the name was this; that the celebrated nine doors of S. Sophia were of this material. But these nine doors had their place between the nave and the narthex: that is, were the royal doors.

36. But what, then, were the beautiful gates? Here

¹ κατῆλθον λιτανεύοντες μέχρι τῶν βασιλικῶν πυλῶν, τῶν καλουμένων κτεναρίων.

² Bulgari, p. 52: αἱ πύλαι, ὅπου εἶναι ἀναμέσον τοῦ ἔσω καὶ ἔξω Νάρθηκος (by the latter he means the porch) λέγονται πύλαι ἑρᾶναι, καὶ πύλαι βασιλικαί.

³ Du Cange, in his Glossary, persuaded himself that he had hit on the right explanation of the different employments of the word *βασιλικαί*. He held, and justly, that they were always the doors at the east end of the narthex. But then he proceeds to say that the narthex is within the church in monastic, without it in secular, or "catholic" churches, and that therefore in monastic churches, the royal gates are those which separate choir and nave. He blames Allatius and Goar for not seeing this: "Quam ipse serius, ut ingenue fatear, animadverti." —p. 1272. Now, in the first place, it

is not true that the narthex is more in the church in monastic than in secular buildings, as we shall hereafter see: and, even if it were, this would only apply to a moral feeling, not to an architectural division; that is, the narthex might be considered in one instance to belong to the church, in the other not so; but the fact of its being considered to belong to the church could not make it less the narthex, or turn it into the nave, which is what Du Cange means. However, he is so far right that he constantly asserts that the *βασιλικαὶ πυλαὶ* 'a narthex in ecclesiam ducunt'.

^b A convincing passage is the following from the *Mensæ*: τὸ προπύλαιον αὐτομάτως ἠνέφκτο, καὶ τοῦτ᾽ ἐ συνεληθόντος τοῦ διακόνου, ἐπὶ τὴν αὐλὴν τοῦ νάρθηκος ἔστησαν· αὐτοὶ πάλιν πρὸς τὰς ἐκεῖσε τοῦ ναοῦ ἐξ ἀργύρου πύλας γενόμενοι . . αἱ πύλαι ἐκλείσθησαν.

again Du Cange and Allatius agree, in making them the same with the royal or silver. Goar, in one place, consents with them, though, in another, he makes these gates separate nave and choir. I am, however, persuaded that, though the word may have been used in this sense, the beautiful gates properly mean the exterior doors of the narthex. In the first place, the gate of the temple, which gave rise to the appellation, occupied this position; it was the exterior gate. Secondly, it is not likely that three names should be used for the door between narthex and nave, none for that between narthex and porch. Lastly, the passages brought forward in support of Allatius' and Du Cange's view seem to me, when examined, to make, if any thing, the other way. For example, Codinus tells us that the Emperor returned, "not by the way^c by which he had come up,—that which looks to the beautiful gates,—but the other way, that towards the soleas and the holy bema." Allatius immediately concludes that as the bema bounded the choir on one side, so that which bounded the nave on the other must be the object of the antithesis. Surely it is more natural that the furthest objects either way should be opposed; the bema on the east, beyond which was nothing; the beautiful gates on the west, beyond which (according to our interpretation) was nothing either. Again, the same Codinus, speaking of S. Sophia, describes a position as "beyond the beautiful gates, in the pronaos," where Du Cange asserts rightly that the pronaos was the narthex. But he forgot that, as there were two nartheces in S. Sophia, the quotation proves nothing. All I am arguing is, that the beautiful gates were to the west of the narthex, where there was only one set; if there were two, they would be to the east of the second, and so a person might be outside them, and yet in the narthex. Again: the notorious name for the nine gates, as famous at Constantinople as the chapel of the nine Altars at Durham, was 'the silver gates.' If Codinus wished to point out a locality in the first narthex, why did he go out of his way to use

^c Cap. 18: οὐκ ἐκ τοῦ μέρους μέν-
τοι, οὐκ ἐκ ἀνῆλθεν, ἤγουν τοῦ πρὸς τὰς
ἀραιάς πύλας ὁρῶντες, ἀλλ' ἐκ τοῦ ἐνέ-
ρου τοῦ πρὸς τὸν Σολιδόν, καὶ τὸ ἅγιον
βῆμα.

an uncommon word^d? These are the only passages of which I am aware that seem to point out the locality of the beautiful gates. Till others are produced, I cannot but believe, in accordance with the present Greek nomenclature^e, that they are the exterior gates of the narthex.

37. The latter are also marked by Goar as the great gates; but there seems no very strong reason for attaching this name to them.

38. The door which sometimes separated the choir and nave is not expressly named by any writer on Greek Liturgies. I think we may fairly conclude that it is the *angelic* door, mentioned by Theodore^f of Petra in his Life of S. Theodosius the Archimandrite. Speaking of a woman, he says, "Going through the door called the angelic, and coming near the holy band of fathers." Allatius well observes that this cannot be the holy door, because a woman could not have entered the bema; therefore he concludes that it must have been the same with the royal doors. Bulgari, I know not for what reason, makes it to correspond with what we have called the beautiful gates. But, (1.) the fathers were probably in the choir; (2.) though it was

^d I purposely omit another argument from the *mensæ* of the 17th of November, because I do not think that the account can be quoted either way, as it seems self-contradictory. A certain John goes to S. Sophia, and finds the doors shut. He sits down in the *garsonostasion*, (the word will be explained hereafter,) not in either of the nartheces, of which the outer was furnished with doors, and repeats the office. He sees a man carry a light, follows him to the external gates, while he τὸ χριστοφόρον σημείον ταῖς πύλαις διαχαράττει, and gets in. There, in the outer narthex, he kneels to the image of the Virgin, and rising, *ὁμοιοτρόπως καὶ ταυτὰς τὰς πύλας ἠνεψζε*. Then he is in the interior narthex. Καὶ ἀνελθὼν ἐν τῇ Νάρθηκι πρὸς τὰς ἀργυρέας πύλας, the man with the light prayed. Καὶ πάλιν ὁρῶν τὸν αὐτὸν διὰ τῆς σφραγίδος καὶ ταυτὰς τὰς ὁραίας ὑπανοίξαντας πύλας . . . καὶ κατὰ τὸ μεσαίτατον τοῦ

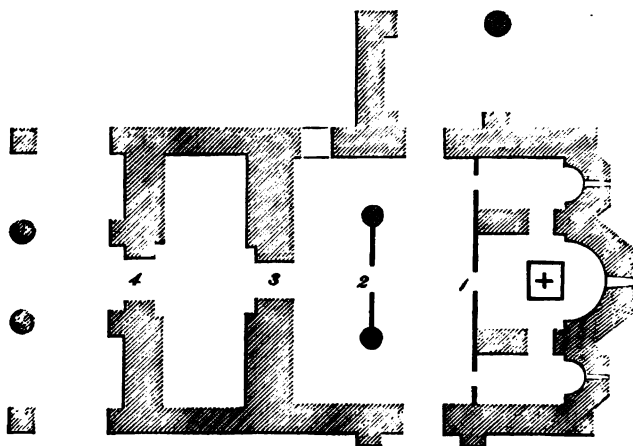
καὶ τὰς χεῖρας διὰπαντα. Now, nothing is clearer than that the author of this legend conceived the silver and beautiful gates to be the same. But I must protest against the reception of this author's testimony. He makes John sitting outside and yet able to see through three rows of doors, not opening in a straight line to each other, into the middle of S. Sophia's. If it be objected that the legend concerns a miracle, I reply that the relater evidently thought there was no difficulty in John's seeing the occurrence, or he would have called that also miraculous; that is, he was not practically acquainted with the arrangement of S. Sophia, and therefore might easily call a door by a wrong name.

^e See note z, p. 197.

^f διὰ τῆς ἀγγελικῆς οὕτω καλουμένης πύλης εἰσέλθουσα καὶ πλῆσιον τοῦ ἱεροῦ τῶν πατέρων γεινομένη χοροῦ.

not usual for a woman to enter it, there was no express canon against it; (3,) the fact that she did so seems related as something remarkable, which it certainly would not have been had she merely gone into the trapeza; (4,) the name of the door seems not so well known, "the gate *called* the angelic." Lastly, a name is wanted for the door between choir and trapeza; the term angelic suits it well, the choir being constantly likened to angels, and the monks known as invested with the angelic habit. The word never occurs elsewhere, is never by medieval writers applied to the royal or holy gates, and therefore may well be appropriated to this.

39. Hence I shall venture to present the following view as containing the correct nomenclature of the doors of a mediæval Byzantine church, (taking that of Samari, in the Peloponnesus.) The names which are not absolutely certain are italicised.



CHURCH OF SAMARI.

- | | |
|-----------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| 1. The Holy Doors. | 2. <i>The Angelic Doors.</i> |
| 3. The Royal or the Silver Doors. | 4. <i>The Beautiful Gates.</i> |

40. I next have to speak of the *soleas*. No word has given rise to more discussion⁵: the term is not now in

⁵ Il n'est pas aisé de dire précisément ce que c'étoit que solea, ni ou il étoit situé.—Thiers, *Diss. sur les Jubes*, p. 14. Allatius concludes his notice in his essay *de recentiorum Græcorum*

Templis, (p. 173,) thus; Sed neque ex his quod solea sit haberi potest. Utinam aliquid nobis occurrat, quod distinctius illius usum exponat. Modern writers speak unhesitatingly of the so-

use, and the most absurd conjectures have been made as to what was really intended by it. On a comparison of the early and mediæval passages in which it is mentioned, it will appear next to certain that the whole of the bema was raised a step higher than the rest of the church, that this step projected two or three yards west of the iconostasis, and that the part so projecting was called the soleas. 1. It was exterior to the bema^b. 2. It was close^c to it. 3. It had a very close connection with the iconostasis^d. 4. It was intended to be stood upon. 5. It was, in rich churches, made of precious stones, and therefore a place of importance^e. 6. It was not a seat, because it could be passed over^f. 7. It was large enough to contain the Readers, and was thence called the bema τῶν ἀναγνώστῶν^g. Now, when we find that solium was used in Latin churches^h in the sense we have attached to the solea; that *soglia* is so used in Italy; that a Græco-barbarous lexiconⁱ explains it by φλία, or threshold, there cannot be much doubt as to the real meaning of the word^j. It is usually spelt σωλέας, but also σολέας, σωλέα,

leas as if it certainly were what I have supposed it to be; at the same time it must be remembered that the point cannot be said to be entirely free from doubt.

^b S. Symeon Thessalonic. de Sacramentia. γίνεται εἰσόδος εἰς τὸν σωλέαν ἐκ τοῦ βήματος.

^c The rubric for the ordination of a Deacon; ἐξελεθόντες δύο διάκονοι ἐκ τοῦ ἁγίου βήματος λαμβάνονται τὸν μέλ- λοντα χειροτονεῖσθαι διάκονον ἐν τῇ σολέᾳ.

^d S. Nicephor. Antirrhēt. ii. 45: τί οὖν εἴποιεν περὶ τῶν ἐν ταῖς ἱεραῖς κτη- κλισίαι, καὶ ταῖς καλουμέναις σωλείαις, περὶ τοῦ θεοῦ θυσιαστηρίου ἱερυμένων;

^e In S. Sophia it was at first of onyx, for we are told by Codinus that when the dome fell, it broke τοὺς σωλείας ἐξ ὀνυχίτου ὄντας λίθου but afterwards Justinian made τὸν δὲ ἄμβωνα, καὶ τὸν σωλέα χρυσῷ. In the former passage, by putting solea in the plural number, I suppose the writer means the con-

tinuation of it in front of the prothesis and diaconicon.

^f Cantacuzene, i. 41, speaks of the emperor, διερχόμενον τὸν σωλέαν, εὐ- ρίσκειν τὸν Πατριάρχην εἰς τὰ ἅγια θύρια.

^g S. Symeon Thessalonic.: ὑποδιακό- νους καὶ ἀναγνώστας καθῆσθαι χρὴ ἔξω-θεν τοῦ βήματος περὶ τὸν σωλέαν, ὅς δὲ καὶ βῆμα καλεῖται ἀναγνώστων.

^h It is not worth while to quote at length the passages referred to by Du Cange in support of this assertion: they are these; Nicol. i. Epist. 8; Vict. Tunnens, iii. 3; Chronic. Casin. MXCII.

ⁱ σολία, χάρα· σωλεία δὲ ἡ φλία τοῦ οἴκου. Du Cange, Constantinopolis Christ., p. 64.

^j So Cabassutius, though his account is full of blunders; Goar, p. 18; Thiers, Diss. sur les Jubés, p. 14; Habert. Pontific. Græc., p. 179. Bulgari calls it, obscurely enough, τὸ διάστημα, ὅπου εἶναι ἀνέμεσα τῶν δύο Χορῶν. (p. 53.)

and *σολέα, σωλία, σολία, σωλείον, σολείον, σωλεύς*; and undoubtedly is connected with, if not derived from, the Latin *solium*.

41. It is not impossible that the *soleas*^r originally formed the choir in large churches: I mean, answered to that part of the building which intervenes between *trapeza* and *bema*, and which we have seen was so indistinctly marked out in the East. It certainly resembled it in two points; that it seems to have ascended from the nave by one step at least; and, that it was for the clerks. Still, it would be too bold to say that the *soleas* *was* the chancel, because it seems to have been in some very marked manner connected with, and depending on the *iconostasis*; because it seems not to have existed in many churches; and because, which I shall explain directly, it had no immediate connection with the *ambo*. I wish that I could believe it the true choir; it would surprisingly facilitate the analogy of Eastern and Western churches; and could the difficulties that obstruct the hypothesis be cleared away, should, for one, most gladly receive it.

42. The *ambon* now claims our attention. I am not writing for those to whom it is necessary to explain that the term signifies a pulpit or raised place, more or less closely connected with the choir, and employed for the purpose of reading the Prophecy, Epistle, and Gospel, and also for other uses. I propose to notice, 1, its position; 2, its form and material; 3, its uses.

Father Thiers, in his very learned work, *sur les Jubés*, gives^s seven different positions; it would not be difficult to add to the number; and I shall exemplify them as far as possible from Eastern churches.

1. *Over the rood-screen*. The *ambon* is then called the *rood-loft*: and this was the almost universal position during later ages in England, and the most frequent in France. It is, of course, quite unknown to the Eastern Church, which does not employ *rood-screens*. In this case the *ambon* is single.

2. *North and south of the rood-screen*. In France there are or were examples in Sens cathedral, and S. Hilary; in Paris, at S. Gervais, and S. Nicolas Des Champs; in Spain,

^r So Mr. Webb lays down in his *Ecclesiological Notes*, p. xvi.

^s *Dissertation*, p. 11.

at Seville cathedral; in Italy, at S. Mark's of Venice, and Milan cathedral, a normal church. I know of no Eastern instance, though the Athenian design for the Greek chapel in London so placed it.

3. *North of the rood-screen only.* In Italy, the cathedral of Torcello. In England there is one instance, Compton Martin in Somersetshire.

4. *South of the rood-screen only.* S. Miniato at Florence.

5. *In the middle of the rood-screen.* S. Serante, Maine, France. This differs from a rood-loft, in that it does not extend the whole breadth of the choir.

6. *The east end of the choir, in front of the sanctuary.* This was one of the most usual situations in the East.

7. *In the centre of the nave.* This was a very common position in the Eastern church, and that which was selected in S. Sophia.

8. *North side of the nave,*
as at S. Ambragio, Milan. } Both these positions were usual
9. *South side of the nave,*
as at S. John, Pistoja. } in the late times of Byzantine
art.

10. *North and south of the aisles.* S. Matteo at Genoa.

43. The materials of the ambon varied as much in the Eastern as in the Western church. We find them of wood^t, marble of various kinds, and even of metal-work: that at S. Sophia's before the fall of the dome was of alabaster^u, enriched with columns of silver and gold, and sparkling with jewels^v; afterwards it was only rebuilt in marble.

44. As to its shape. In the Latin Church there were frequently two, sometimes even three, as in S. Clemente at Rome, respectively used for the Gospel, Epistle, and Prophecy. They are then simple in the shape of large square or octagonal pulpits; the book-desk in the Gospel ambon being frequently an eagle. Where there were two different

^t Chronic. Mont. Casin. iii. 20.

^u Du Cange, Constantin. Christ. ii. 69.

^v τὸν δὲ ἄμβωνα καὶ τὸν Σολέαν μὴ
δοξάμενοι ποιῆσαι τοιοῦτον πολυέξοδον

καὶ πολύτιμον, ἐποίησαν αὐτὸν οὐδαμῶν
τροῦλον δὲ τοῦ ἄμβωνος οὐκ ἠθέλησε
ποιῆσαι, ὡς εἶπον, διὰ τὴν πολλὴν ἑξοδον,
says Codinus.

desks, that for the Epistle usually faced the east; that for the Gospel, north; but this rule only held in the Latin Church: in the Greek, the ambon, whether single or double, was ordinarily turned towards the people, that is, west. When there is but one ambon, it has sometimes only one staircase, oftener two, occasionally three, and we do meet with four⁷. We may advantageously compare the ambons of the Jewish synagogue: as at Great S. Helen's, for example, and in Frankfort.

45. As the ambon of S. Sophia was the general norm of all Byzantine ambons, I shall quote the passage of the Silentary, expressed with his usual elegance, that refers to it, that is, so far as we have it; for it is a remarkable fact that, although Du Cange quotes four different passages in his notes from the description of the ambon given by Paul, none of them, nor any reference to the ambon, occur in Paul's work itself; it must therefore have been omitted in the transcript made for the press. It is amusing to find Thiers and others quoting these passages as from the Silentary, which they certainly could only have taken from Du Cange's notes.

ἔστι τις εὐρυπόροιο κατ' ἑνδία μέσσα μελάθρου
 ἀρβὸς ἰδεῖν, καὶ μᾶλλον ἐς ἀντολίην τί νερευκαῖς
 πύργος ἀκηρασίουσιν ἀπόκριτος ἦθεσι βίβλων·
 ὀρθάδιος βάθροισ, διδυμᾶονος ἀμβατος οἶμου,
 ὡν μία μὲν ποτὶ νύκτα τιταίνεται, ἡ δὲ πρὸς ἡῶ.
 εἰσι γὰρ ἀλλήλαισιν ἐναντίαι, ἀμφοτέραι δὲ
 εἰς ἓνα χῶρον ἀγουσιν ἴσον περιήγει κόλφω.

This arrangement of staircase seems usually to have been adopted in Byzantine churches, which had, like S. Sophia, one at the north end of the Eastern face, for ascent, and one at the south end of the western face, for descent. We further learn from Codinus, that this ambon was surmounted by a cross of gold, a hundred pounds in weight, and therefore by a dome. The appellation of *tower*⁸ shews that it must

⁷ As in the church of S. Cyprian, as described by S. Gregory of Tours.

Xpi Agnellus Episc. hunc Pyrgum fieri fecit." Webb, Cont. Eccles. 426.

⁸ The Duomo at Ravenna has an ambon with this inscription: "Servus

Thiers is wrong, therefore, in his account.

have been of considerable height; while from the fact that the Emperor of Byzantium was there anointed by the Patriarch, which naturally involves the presence of a crowd of officials, both of the court and of the church, we shall conclude that it was of no small size. An engraving in a future part of this work will perhaps give a tolerably correct idea of the erection.

46. The ambons in the subsequent churches of the Byzantine empire more or less resembled this antitype. I imagine, however, that they were rather nearer to the holy doors than that in S. Sophia; which, though not precisely in the middle of the naos, was but slightly more to the east. The *εὐχὴ πίστάμβωνος* however, of the Liturgy of S. Chrysostom, would lead to a different conclusion for the generality of churches. This prayer 'behind the ambon,' i. e., behind it as regards the bema, or to the west, is directed to be said by the Priest outside the bema, as if the two came to much the same thing: whereas, from the twelfth Canon of the first Ecumenical Council it would be more natural to conclude that the ambon stood, at that time, more to the west.

47. The next point is the use of the ambon. While its proper employment was for the lection of the Epistle and Gospel, it was by no means confined to this either in the Eastern or the Western Church. Sermons were frequently delivered therein; this, we find, was the constant^a habit of S. Chrysostom. Here also, on the Epiphany^b, the time of Easter was announced to the faithful; and this more particularly in Egypt. Here the Missal Litany^c, the *εἰρηνικὰ, διακονικὰ, or ἐκτενὴ*, were given out by the Deacon. The Diptychs were here read. In some cases the celebrated proclamation, Holy Things for Holy Persons^d, was here also made. Finally, the greater part of the coronations of the Emperors of Constantinople here took place.

^a Georg. Pap. Alex. in vit. S. Chrysost. cap. 17. Sozomen. H. E. viii. 5.

^b Cassian. Collat. x. 2.

^c Goar, Eucholog. p. 300. Habert. Pontific. Recl. Gr. p. 58.

^d Thiers devotes the twelfth chapter of his Dissertation to proving this from a passage in the 17th Homily of S. Chrysostom, on Heb. x.

48. The use of the ambon in the Eastern Church seems now, for the most part, to be entirely obsolete ; its place is supplied in this way ; the soleas, opposite the holy doors, projects in a semicircle ; this projection is properly named the *πρόθυρα* τοῦ *βήματος*. But it is now usually both called, and used as, the ambon.

49. The *στασίδια*, or stalls, have not much to distinguish them from those of the Western Church, except the poverty of their design. In some monastic churches they fill almost all the space between the soleas and the beautiful gates, thus all but expunging the nave : but this is not common. In parish churches they are usually, where they occur, not returned, but generally are not found at all. The stall of the hegumen is at the extreme east end of the south side, and¹ opposite to it the icon of the principal saint of the church. It is not uncommon, in monastic churches, to find stasidia which have only the elbows, so to speak, without seats. These, in a great measure, answer to crutches, and crutches themselves are not unusual in many churches, especially in the far East ; sitting during the divine office being unknown.

50. The women's gallery, or gynæconitis, formed an important part of the earlier Byzantine churches. The narthex was usually vaulted ; the aisles (to use the word in an improper sense) were frequently also vaulted, and in the galleries thus formed, answering very well to such triforia as those of Gloucester cathedral, women were accommodated. These galleries in some cases ran even along the side of the bema, for we find that S. Basil once detected a woman in making signs to the assistant Deacon during the celebration of the Liturgy, and in consequence made it a rule that the easternmost part of the women's gallery should be fitted with a veil. The immense size to which the gynæconitis sometimes attained I shall more particularly notice when writing of S. Sophia, in the fifth chapter of this book. We sometimes

* Codinus, cap. 14 : μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἀπό-
λυσιν τοῦ ὄρθρου, τοῦ πρωτοπαπῆ καὶ
τοῦ ἀρχidiaκόνου ἱσταμένων ἐν τοῖς προ-
θύροις τοῦ βήματος.

¹ Philotheus, Ord. Sacr. Minist. καὶ

θυμῇ τὴν ἁγίαν εἰκόνα, τὴν εἰς τὸ στα-
σίδιον τοῦ προσετώτος. The Patriarch's
stall is called by Pachymeres (viii. 15)
στασιδιον.

find the gallery over the peribolus, as will be seen by a reference to the ground-plan of Gunnāwat given in the next chapter. The entrance was usually by an external staircase or staircases, which were sometimes concealed in the buttresses of the building. The gynæconitis is not unfrequently called the catechumenium^s, a term which might, without due caution, be easily misunderstood of the narthex, as indeed it is once applied to it by S. Symeon of Thessalonica. The reason for this appellation is not very clear; for to say that it arose from the fact that the women were instructed by witnessing the Divine Offices, might as well apply to any other part of the church not appropriated to ecclesiastics. *Ἐπερώα*^h was a title also frequently applied to the gynæconitis. In later ages this arrangement in a great measure ceased, and women now occupy, sometimes the narthex, more usually the space under what would have been the side galleries in a mediæval church.

51. Hence we proceed to the narthex. The general use of this division of the church was, as is well known, for Catechumens and Penitents, as we shall see presently. Allatius, who has treated the subject in a separate essay, and, as his wont is, with great learning and confusion, has satisfactorily proved that the narthex, or pronaos, *was always* a part of the church,—the porch, or proaulion, was not. Du Cangeⁱ, on the contrary, endeavours to shew that in Catholic or secular churches the narthex was exterior to the church, while in monastic churches it formed a part of it; i. e., that Catholic churches had no nave, while monastic churches had the narthex *as* a nave. The whole article exhibits a curious mixture of gross blundering and recondite learning^k.

^s Leo Novell., 73: *ἐν τοῖς τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν ὑπερώοις, ἅπερ ὁ πολλὸς ἄνθρωπος*

ποσ κατηχούμενα καλεῖν ἔγνω. So in Latin, Catechumenium.

^h Paul the Silentary for example:

ἐνθάδε θηλυτέρων ὑπερώια καλὰ νοήσεις.

ⁱ Glossar. Gr. Barbar., p. 986.

^k The following passages sufficiently prove that the narthex is part of the church. Pseudo-Dionysius, speaking of the Epistle and Gospel, says *μετὰ δὲ ταύτας ἔξω γίνονται τῆς ἱερᾶς πει-*

ριοχῆς οἱ κατηχούμενοι. Theodore Balsamon, commenting on the thirty-fourth Canon of S. Basil: *ὁ γὰρ ὁρῶν αὐτὴν ἔξω τῶν θείων περιβάλλον τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἱσταμένην.* Alexius Aristæus, writing on the twenty-first Canon

52. I shall first speak of the use of the narthex. It was for the accommodation of the Catechumens, Energumens, and second order of penitents. The four orders of penitents were, as every one knows, the *Flentes*, whose place was in the porch; the *Audientes*, in the narthex; the *Consistentes* and *Substrati*, in the lower part of the nave. And these four were called in the East the *πρόσκληνσις*, *ἀκρόασις*, *ὑπόπτωσις*, and *σύστασις*. The Catechumens¹, Energumens, and Penitents, says S. Dionysius, are allowed to hear the holy modulation of Psalms, and the Divine recitation of sacred

of Ancyra, and mentioning those who were to be treated as the *flentes*: δύο μὲν ἐτη ἔξω περιβολαίου τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἱστάμενοι. Zonaras: ἔξω τῶν ἱερῶν περιβόλων ἱστάναι καὶ προσκλαίειν. Pseudo-Dionysius, in his second chapter, even dignifies it, in common with the rest of the church, by the name of *ιερατεῖον*. And lastly, Balsamon, in his commentary on the second Canon of S. Dionysius of Alexandria, says expressly, οὐ γὰρ εἰσιν οἱ προναοὶ κοινοὶ, ὡς τὰ τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν προαύλια. And these passages have a stringency which cannot be overborne by the one or two doubtful quotations which Du Cange brings forward, one from Theorianus, in his Legation to the Armenians, where he speaks of a *νάρθηκα* ἔξω τῆς ἐκκλησίας; and two, exceedingly unsatisfactory, from the eleventh Canon of S. Gregory the Wonder-worker, and Zonaras, on the first Canon of the Council of Nicæa. Du Cange gives no authority for his arbitrary distinction, which, not to do him injustice, I will give in his own words: Gloss., p. 986. "Unde narthex extra ecclesiam fuit, si 'catholicas' ecclesias spectes . . . in monachorum vero ecclesiis . . . ex in tres duntaxat partes dividuntur: in βῆμα . . . in ναόν, ubi monachi consistunt, suis pariter cancellis divisum a reliqua æde, quam νάρθηκα appellant licet revera non sit νάρθηξ." Here, then, he allows that

this narthex is not really a narthex, but something else, and what is that but the nave? Du Cange, not the monks, calls it narthex, but of the real narthex he entirely loses sight. The whole arrangement is given with admirable clearness by Goar, in the plate opposite p. 12 of the Euchology. Here we have the stalls of the monks in the choir (which, in the above extract from Du Cange he calls the *ναός*;) next, the trapeza, which he calls the *νάρθηξ*; after that the true narthex, with its stalls, which he does not notice at all here, and in another place calls the *ἐξω-νάρθηξ*, but which is in reality the *ἐσωνάρθηξ*; and lastly, what in a secular church would be taken for the proaulion, but which here is the *ἐξωνάρθηξ*. A *proaulion* might exist beyond it. Al-latius (de Narthece Veteris Ecclesiæ, p. 17) strives hard to prove that the monks did not use the narthex as all other writers are agreed that they did: and as the structure of many Eastern churches shews that they did.

¹ τοὺς δὲ κατηχουμένους, ἐνεργουμένους τε, καὶ τοὺς ἐν μετανοίᾳ ὄντας ὁ τῆς ἁγίας ἱεραρχίας θεσμὸς ἐφίησι μὲν ἑπακοῦσαι τῆς ψαλμικῆς ἱερολογίας, καὶ τῆς ἐνθόου τῶν πανίερων γραφῶν ἀναγνώσεως. Εἰς δὲ τὰς ἐξῆς ἱερουργίας, καὶ θεωρίας, οὐ συγκαλεῖται τοὺς, ἀλλὰ τοὺς τελείους τῶν τελεσίουργῶν ὀφθαλμούς.

Scripture, but the Church invites them not to behold the sacred works and mysteries that follow. There has been a warm dispute as to the order in which these divisions were arranged, and some have concluded from the above-quoted words of S. Dionysius, who everywhere observes the same order in naming them, that the Catechumens obtained the highest, the Penitents the lowest place. But Allatius^m has shewn that he is there speaking of the order in which they were to leave the church, and that therefore the Catechumens were next to the door, that is, lowest. And thus, in another place, S. Dionysius speaks of them as occupying the last placeⁿ, as does S. Maximus^o after him. Of these Catechumens there were two kinds, the *Auditores*, who had merely expressed a wish to become Christians, and the *Competentes*, who were thought worthy of holy Baptism. So the third Canon of Nicæa: "It seemed good to the great and holy Synod^p that lapsed Catechumens," that is, *Competentes*, "should be for three years *Auditores*, and then pray with the Catechumens." So Alexius Aristæus, commenting on the fourteenth Canon of Ancyra: "There are two kinds of Catechumens^q, one recently received, the other more perfect." So Tertullian^r, S. Ambrose^s, S. Augustine^t, S. Isidore of Seville^u. Some have imagined that the place of the Auditor Catechumens was outside the narthex, but this

^m De Narthece, p. 25, &c.

ⁿ δευτέρα δὲ πρὸς τὸ ἕνω τῆς τῶν κατηχομένων ἐστὶν ἐσχάτης.

^o ὅτι οἱ κατηχομένοι ἐσχάτοι εἰσι.

^p περὶ τῶν κατηχομένων καὶ παραπεσόντων ἔδοξε τῇ ἁγίᾳ καὶ μεγάλῃ συνόδῳ, ὥστε τριῶν ἐτῶν αὐτοὺς ἀκροαμένους μόνον μετὰ ταῦτα εἰσεσθαι μετὰ τῶν κατηχομένων.

^q δύο εἶδη τῶν κατηχομένων. οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἔρτι προσέρχονται· οἱ δὲ γεγόνασι τελευτέροι.

^r De Penitentia. Nemo sibi aduleatur, quia inter audientium tyrocinia deputetur, quasi et etiam nunc sibi delinquere liceat. An alius instructus est CHRISTUS, alius audientibus?

^s Symbolum aliquibus Competenti-

bus in Baptisteriis tradebam basilicæ. —Epist. v. 33.

^t De Cura pro mortuis, 12. Pascha appropinquante dedit nomen inter alios Competentes.

^u Competens vocatur, qui post instructionem fidei competit gratiam Christi: unde et a petendo Competens vocatur. (Orig., vii. 14.) Hoc autem die (Palmarum) symbolum Competentibus traditur. (Off. Ecc., i. 27.) This, in the yet earlier Gotho-Hispanic rite, was done, I may observe in passing, on Mid-Lent Sunday, called sometimes, on this account, the Dominica de traditione, more usually the Dominica mediante. So the first Canon of the second Council of Braga, (A.D. 560.)

is clearly disproved by the sixth Canon of the Synod of Neocaesarea, (A.D. 314,) which orders that if a Competent be guilty of public sin he shall be degraded to the rank of an Auditor, and if he again fall into sin he shall be thrust out from the church: manifestly thereby shewing that before he had been in the church. That the second class of Penitents was also in the narthex is clear from the testimony of S. Gregory the Wonder-worker², and the oriental ultramontane Theodore Balsamon³.

38. It is clear that the third class of Penitents was not in the narthex, but in the church itself. Zonaras, commenting on the ninth and tenth Canons of S. Gregory the Wonder-worker, says, "They go into the church, and pray with the faithful, but they go out with the Catechumens⁴."

39. Hence then, when in the magnificent Constantinopolitan ritual the Celebrant unfolded the corporal, the Deacon proclaimed, "As many as are Catechumens depart; Catechumens depart; as many as are Catechumens depart; let none of the Catechumens; let the faithful;" there must necessarily have been some confusion. The Auditor Catechumens, followed by the Competentes, were forcing their way through the beautiful gates into the crowd of Flentes, Jews, heathen, schismatics, heretics, and hyemantes, who crowded the prosulion. The Energumens were hastening after them, as were the Audientes: the Succumbentes were passing the silver gates on their way out, and perhaps the Consistentes also, for I leave the disputed question whether the Consistentes partook of the holy Eucharist with the Faithful. To this end the Subdeacons were placed at the beautiful gates to compose disturbances, to shew persons the way, to prevent talking, and the like. To this purpose were the twenty-second and forty-third Canons of Laodicea. "The Subdeacon," says the former, "must not wear an orarion, nor leave the gates." The latter enjoins that the Subdeacons must not leave their post for a single moment, not even for the sake of prayer.

² Canon ii.: ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς ἐκείνη τῆς πόλεως ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ εὐχὰς ἐστάναι.

³ In Can. xiv. Concil. Nicœn.

⁴ τῶν ὑποκρινόμενων ὁτις ἐπισυν-

αίρονται μὴ τοῖς πιστοῖς εἰσιόντες εἰς τὸν ναὸν, ἐξέρχονται. ὁ δὲ οἱ ποταχόμενοι.

40. Such was the primitive arrangement and use of the narthex. But the severity of ancient discipline declined before the time of Justinian; and we find that, in that of S. Symeon of Thessalonica^a, the narthex was reserved for Catechumens, apostates, and murderers. Women also at particular^b periods found their place there; and by degrees, as the women's gallery became disused, the narthex served the purpose of the gynæconitis. That appears to be its principal use at the present time, for it need hardly be said that every trace of the primitive penitential discipline is as completely lost in the East as in the West.

41. The subject of the narthex is comparatively easy in secular churches. Nor is it, in itself, difficult, when considered with reference to monasteries; though the perverse learning and false theories of some writers have done what they could to make it so. As monks^c considered themselves in the light of voluntary Penitents, they used for a great portion of their offices that part of the church which would be employed by actual Penitents, namely, the narthex; and here, in monastic churches, we therefore find stalls. All the Hours, with the exception of part of Matins, Lauds, and Vespers, are said in this place.

42. But though the Monks might choose to consider themselves Penitents, it clearly would have interrupted all ecclesiastical order if real Penitents and Catechumens had been allowed to mingle with them during the Divine office. This consideration involved a double narthex, the interior one called the ἐσωνάρθηξ, the exterior, ἐξωνάρθηξ, ἐξώστης, or, corruptly, ξώστης. The question then arises where these were situated. Du Cange labours to prove, that the ἐξωνάρθηξ was what in secular churches would have been the

^a Opusc. de hæresibus. ἐξάγονται μὲν οὖν οἱ κατηχομένοι, ἀλλὰ καὶ οἱ παραπεπτοκότες μετὰ τὸ βάπτισμα, καὶ οἱ θεοῦ ἀρνήσει περιπεσόντες, ἡ αἵματι χρανθέντες ἀδελφικῶ φόνον ἐργασάμενοι, ἡ καὶ ἕτερά τινα πεπραχότες τῆς κοινῆς ἀπειργοντα. This he gives as the former rule, and afterwards proceeds, νῦν δὲ, διὰ τοὺς διωγμοὺς, καὶ συνεχεῖς περιστάσεις, οὕτω τῶν πατέρων

καλὸν εἶναι λογισαμένον, κατηχομένοι μὲν καὶ ἀρνησάμενοι, καὶ φονεύσαντες ἐξωθοῦνται.

^b In Can. ii. S. Dionysii Alexand. εἶδει γοῦν τοὺς τοιοῦτους προνόους, ἐν οἷς αἱ τοιαῦτα ἀκάρτοι γυναῖκες ἡμελλον ἴστασθαι, μὴ ἀναπληροῦν τόπον ἐκκλησιῶν ἐξ ὁρθοῦ.

^c This is put very well by Goar Eucholog., p. 24, at the top.

νάρθηξ properly speaking, the ἐσωνάρθηξ being the nave. This is a natural consequence of the mistake which runs through all his arrangement of churches, namely, that in the East there was only a three-fold, not a four-fold, division; nor does he bring forward a single valid authority in support of his assertion.

43. The plain common sense view of the subject is this. The monks having appropriated the narthex to their own quasi-penitential devotions, were obliged to add a second one for the proper and original use. This they naturally called the outer narthex; and, as naturally, their own one became distinguished as the inner narthex. But neither the one nor the other make any *essential* difference between monastic and secular churches, still less is the inner one a substitute for, or in any way to be confounded with, the nave.

44. Many churches, it seems, had two nartheces; whether a minute division of the Penitents and Catechumens were carried out by this means, there are not data to determine. We read of monastic churches with three nartheces: but what is remarkable, S. Sophia, which really has two^d, is always spoken of as if it possessed four^e. I will not pretend to explain a difficulty which Du Cange and Goar own themselves unequal to solve, but am inclined to imagine that from the immense length of the nartheces in this church, each gradually came to be considered as two, the northern and southern parts being viewed as one each, and perhaps appropriated to men and women respectively.

45. We shall remark, in the series of churches which will be given in the next chapters, the gradually diminishing architectural importance of the narthex. In all the earlier examples it is marked off by a strong party wall from the nave, with which it generally communicates by three doors. By degrees the openings widen, and the wall contracts till it resolves itself into two mass piers, and these also sometimes vanish. It cannot be denied, however, that in some

^d It shews in what doubt the best writers on Greek rituals were, two centuries ago, as to facts, when we find Goar (p. 23) hesitating between Gyllius's account of the two nartheces at

S. Sophia, and that of an eyewitness, whose name he does not give, that there was only one.

^e So Codinus: ἀπὸ τοῦ βήματος μέχρι τῶν τεσσάρων νάρθηκων.

very early instances, as for example S. Philip at Athens, there seems never to have been a narthex; and its place was in these cases supplied to a certain extent by the ambon, which divided the nave from the narthex. Why the Armenian arrangement divided the narthex it is difficult to say. It is curious, however, to trace Byzantine influence on the border land of the two countries. Thus we find the cathedral of Martvili in Georgia constructed on the same model as the normal church of S. Hripsime, except that it has a Byzantine narthex added at the west end: and therefore, in fact, has three nartheces.

46. Besides the modern use of the narthex as a gynæcoticus, it serves two other purposes. The corpses of laymen are here left preparatory^f to burial. And, in many places it is considered indecent to enter the naos after the Divine office has begun: and those who come late content themselves therefore with the narthex. We have now only to notice the other names which it has borne. The most usual synonyme is the *pronaos*^g; which is always applied to this, and not, as by some late writers, to the porch or *proaulion*. By a forced metaphor Nicephorus Blemmides terms it the *skin*^h of the church. And in some rituals it is called ἄρθηξⁱ, by an unmeaning corruption.

The name narthex has been derived from *νέρθε*, as occupying the lower part of the church: but it is far more pro-

^f The rubric in the Euchology: καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο ἔραντες τὸ λείψανον, ἐπομύζουσιν εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, καὶ εἰ μὲν ἱερεὺς ἐστὶν ὁ ἐκδημήσας ἀδελφός, τίθεται τὸ τοῦτου λείψανον ἐν τῇ μέσῃ τοῦ ναοῦ· εἰ δὲ ἰδιώτης ἐν τῇ νάρθηκι. In the original plan of the Greek church in London, which I shall give in the sixth chapter, the νεκροφυλάκιον is at the north end of the ἐκκλησίᾳ.

^g This Allatius proves at length in his essay *de narthece veteris Ecclesie*, pp. 79, sq. Balsamon, expressly, (in Can. ii. S. Dionys.) οὐ γὰρ εἰς οἱ πρόναοι κοινοῖ, ὡς τὰ τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν προαύλια. At the same time it must be

owned that, even by writers of respectable antiquity the *pronaos* is used of something other than the narthex: thus Perdiccas, in his description of Jerusalem, says,

καὶ δεξιὸν εὐσεβιόφυλλον ἐστὶς ἐν τῇ προνάῳ·

where it appears to refer to the area at the west end of the church.

^h In his life of S. Paulus Latrensis. ἰθάπτερο μὲν οὖν τὸ πολυθάλλον ἐκείνου σῶμα, καὶ νικηφόρον, ἐν χρῶ τοῦ ναοῦ· νάρθηκα τὸν τόπον καλεῖν εἰώθαμεν.

ⁱ Du Cange mentions especially the MS. ritual of the *κεχαριστωμένη* at Constantinople.

bably given from the resemblance of the long narrow space thus named to a rod or stick.

In noticing the things which belong to this part of a church, we shall first mention the font.

47. The font, *κολυμβήθρα*^k, in the Eastern church is a far less conspicuous ornament than it is in the West.

As every one knows, the baptistery, called also the *φωτιστήριον*, was originally a distinct building from the church: of which we shall find a good example in the ruined church of Soceda in Syria, where it is at the distance of 800 yards. Next we find it connected by a cloister, or passage, as in the cathedral of Teheemay, in Lycia: or opening out of the south end of the narthex, as in the rock church of Inkerman, in the Crimea, or enclosed in the narthex, as in the cathedral of Pitzounda in Abkhasia. The pool was also called *δεξαμένη*, and was sometimes domed. Baptism by immersion has been retained in the East, as we shall see: but the font seldom or never possessed any beauty. The material is usually either metal or wood. In Russia, the columbethra is movable, and only brought out when wanted. Other points will come more naturally under consideration when in the third book I write on the office of Baptism.

48. While on the subject of the font, it may be as well to notice the *φιάλη* and the *κολύμβιον* of the Eastern church. The phiale, as we shall see at S. Sophia, was a kind of well or fountain¹, whence water was taken for the supply of the church, and especially for the office of the greater Sanctification, performed on the Epiphany of each year; and for that of the lesser Sanctification, which takes place whenever baptismal water is needed. The colymbion answers to the benatura of the Latin Church, and is employed for the

^k *κολυμβήθρα* is indifferently used for the font and the baptistery. Theodor. clearly uses it for the baptistery. H. E. *καὶ τοῦτον ἐν τῇ κολυμβήθρᾳ τῆς ἐκκλησίας σφαγῆναι παρεσκεύασε.* S. Athanasius as clearly for the font: *ἐν κολυμβήθρᾳ φυτευομένη, καὶ οὐρανῷ καρποφυρούσα.* By S. John Damascene the font is named *κόλυμβος*.

¹ At S. Sophia's the *φιάλη* was placed in the area before the west end, but we sometimes find it in the narthex. So the MS. ritual of the monastery *τῆς κεχαριτωμένης*, quoted by Du Cange, *ἐν τῷ ἔρθηκι, ἐν ᾧ καὶ φιάλη ἴσταται.* We also find it by the porch, Constantin. Porphyr. in Basil. 55. *κατ' αὐτὰ τοῦ ναοῦ τὰ προαύλια φιάλαι δύο ἐστήκασιν.*

purpose of containing holy water. A holy water stoup at the entrance of the church, is, however, very little used at present^a, though it is not exactly correct to assert^b that it is never used, except where there has been intercourse with the Latin Church. In a mosaic of Justinian and Theodora at S. Vitale, Ravenna, there was a very good representation of a colymbion, which I give from Du Cange's *Familie Byzantine*. An order for making holy water, as used in the church of Blachernæ, is given by Goar^c. In Russia, the universal custom in country churches is, to wash the hands before going to church; and in winter time the peasants will pick up a little snow in the churchyard, and so perform their ablutions. To this custom, and not, as it has often been said, to Baptism, the famous inscription on the phiale of S. Sophia occurred; the letters of which read backwards as well as forwards.

NITON ANOMHMATA MH MONAN OVIN.

48. The *Proaulion*, or porch, is usually, where it exists at all, at the west end, and reaches from the north to the south of the narthex: it is sometimes a lean-to against the west end of the narthex, but oftener it forms with the narthex one lean-to against the west end of the nave: so it is at Samari in Peloponnesus. Occasionally, as in the cathedral church of Mtskétha, in Georgia, the proaulion, though at the west end, is simply like an English porch; and sometimes there are north and south porches, as in Pitzounda, a very fine church. Occasionally in the middle of the proaulion, a dome or tower rises, as at S. Michael at Athens, and at Samari. A view of the latter will be found in the sixth chapter. The north, south, and west sides are open between the piers on which the proaulion is supported; the east side, that is the west end of the pronaos, is usually adorned with mosaic or frescoes, usually of infernal punishments. Commonly the proaulion opens with three doors into the narthex, as that into the nave. Against the east side there is a seat of marble

^a So King, *Greek Church*, p. 385.

^b As Goar, p. 25.

^c *Eucholog.*, p. 449. The view of

the colymbion will be found in the end of the chapter.

or stone, or, in poor churches, of wood. The proaulion leads me to speak of the bells, which are generally hung in that place.

49. Bells were not introduced into the Eastern church till the year 896, when Urso Patricio, Doge of Venice^p, sent several as a present to the Emperor Michael, by whom they were much valued, and by whom also a tower was erected for their reception at the west end of S. Sophia's. From that time they gradually though slowly came into use; till the Turks, as a general rule, forbade their employment, believing that the souls of the faithful are disquieted by them. They have, however, been in various places allowed as a matter of favour. So we find that Ali Pasha, anxious to conciliate his Christian subjects, permitted them at Joanina^q: so at Argenteira^r, where they hang over the doors of the churches, and are much prized. In the Holy Mountain there are several^s. The monastery of the Prophet Elias, in Crete, has always been allowed to possess them^t; it has three of Venetian manufacture, and cast in 1634. Nor are they uncommon throughout Crete; a popular ballad, preserved in that island, begins^u,

It was a Sunday morning,
And the bells were chiming free,
To welcome in the Easter
At Haghia Kostandi.

As the Turkish dominion has been thrown off, so have bells returned. At the cathedrals of Belgrade^x and Shabatz^y, in Servia, bell-towers have been erected since the revolution.

Russia has always been attached to bells, and the enormous ones of the Kremlin are well known. Those at S. Isaac, S. Petersburg, are also very fine.

In Georgia also they are common, and are hung either over the doors at the west end, or over the lych-gate. The Christians of S. Thomas also use them; though when or

^p See Goar, *Eucholog.*, p. 560.

^q Hughes, *Travels in Albania*, ii. 21.

^r Sonnini's *Travels*, ii. 26; Tournefort, i. 154.

^s Allatius, *De Recent. Græc. Templ.*, p. 106.

^t Pashley's *Crete*, i. 91.

^u μία κυριακὴν ἡμέρα,
καὶ ἦτον καὶ λαμπρή,
τὰ σήμαντρα κτύπησαν
'ς τὸν ἕγιον κοσταντί.

^x Paton's *Servia*, 48.

^y *Ibid.*, 104.

how introduced there we have no method of knowing. A traveller has beautifully described his feelings on hearing, when approaching one of the villages of Malabar, the distant sound of church bells among the hills. In the Desert of Cells some few of the monasteries possess bells^a: in Egypt, properly so called, there is but one, and that of French manufacture. In Ethiopia they have long been used, and are rung at the elevation of the Host^a.

50. Bells are sometimes called by their Latin name, campanæ, but more frequently σήμαντρα; often also κώδωνες, and κώδωνες συνακτήριοι.

The word *semantra*, however, properly signifies a very different thing, the instruments, namely, by which the people were called together before bells were introduced into the East, and which, under Turkish domination, are still used for that purpose.

They are of two kinds, wooden and iron.

The wooden *semantron* is generally a long, well planed piece of timber, usually made of heart of maple; its length varies from twelve feet upwards; its breadth may be one and a half, and its thickness nine inches. This the Priest holds with his left hand, grasping it in the middle, and taking in his right a mallet, called σημαντήριον, or χειρο-σήμαντρον, or τόκμακ, (a Turkish word,) he strikes the μέγα σήμαντρον in various parts^b, and at various angles, and experience enables him to elicit from it sounds not altogether unmusical. Sometimes, as at Jassy^c and Bukhorest, the *semantra* are merely flat boards, and then the clatter which is produced is dreadful.

The iron *semantra*, called also *haghiosidera*, and σιδηρούς, are much superior: they are usually iron half-hoops, which yield a sound not unlike that of a gong. They are occasionally found of brass.

The *semantra*, whether of wood or metal, are generally

^a Tischendorff's Travels in the East, p. 49.

^a Renaudot. Lit. Or. 248; Hist. Patr. Alex. 282.

^b There is a view of a priest striking

the *semantron* on the title-page of Mr. Curzon's Visit to the Monasteries in the Levant.

^c Neale's Moldavia, 162; Walsh's Journey from Constantinople, 236.

hung up with chains in the proaulion. But they also occupy other positions: thus at Lignast^d Vecchio in Albania, a haghiosideron is placed on the top of a hill; its sound may be heard for a considerable distance. In the court of the monastery of Pentelicos^e, in Attica, one is attached to a tree which occupies one of its angles.

51. Many references to this custom occur in mediæval Byzantine writers. In the fourth session of the second Council of Nicæa^f, an account was read of the translation of S. Anastasius to Constantinople; when, to evince their joy, the citizens welcomed the relics by striking the "holy wood." So, in the life of S. Theodosius the Archimandrite, we read of some Eutychian monks^g, who to disturb the Abbat at his devotions, beat the wood at an unaccustomed hour. The author of the Life of Athanasius Galesius, who was Œcumenical Patriarch from 1289 to 1310, tells us that he was the earliest to arise for the midnight service at the striking of the wood^h. The striking, *κρούσμα*, stands alone for the same meaning; Cyril of Scythopolis in his Life of S. Sabas: "the saint arose before the hour of *striking*!"

52. The *semantra*, which are rung, (*σημαίνονται*.) are of three kinds. We read of ringing the *little*^k, the *great*^l, and the *steel*^m. These rise one above another in sound, and are compared by Theodore Balsamon, in a treatise which he specially devoted to the subject, to the preaching of the Law, the

^d Hobhouse's Greece and Albania, i. 200. A drawing of wooden and metal *semantra* will be found at the end of this chapter.

^e Hobhouse's Greece and Albania, i. 393.

^f καὶ εὐφροσύνης μεγάλης πλησθέντες, ἅπαντες ἀναστάντες τὰ τε ἱερὰ ξύλα σηµιάναντες συνηθροίσθησαν ἅπαντες, ἐν τῷ πανσέπτῳ ναφ τῆς Θεοτόκου ἐπιλεγομένης τῆς νέας.

^g μοναχοὶ τινες, . . . οἱ τινες τοῦ Θεοῦ τοῦ ματαιόφρονος ἐνόησαν ἀρεσίῃ [εἰς] πρόσκτισμα καὶ ἔριν τῶν μακαρίων ἐκείνων ἀνδρῶν ἀναιδῶς τῷ ξύλῳ ἔκρουον παρὰ τὴν εἰσθύναν παντελῶς ὄραν.

^h τῶν μεσονυκτίων ὧρων τῷ ξύλῳ

κρούματι πρώτος πάντων ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ εὐρίσκετο.

ⁱ πρὸ τῆς τοῦ κρούσματος ὥρας. So in the Typicum of S. Sabas. τῶν ἱδίων κελλίων οὐκ ἐξέρχονται, ἄχρι τοῦ κρούσματος τῆς ἐκκλησίας. S. Theodore of the Studium uses the word *κρουσματίω* κρουσματοῦντος τοῦ ξύλου.

^k Typicum S. Sabas, i. κατελθὼν σηµαίνει τὸ μικρόν· and 57, σηµαίνει τὸ μικρόν, καὶ συναγόμεθα ἐν τῷ νόρθηκι.

^l Typicum. κανδηλάτης ἐξέρχεται, καὶ σηµαίνει τὸ μέγα: or, as it is in another place, τὸ μέγα σηµαίνουσιν.

^m Marcus Hierom. de dubilis Typicia cap. 34: τὸ μέγα, καὶ τὸ σιδηροῦν.

preaching of the Gospel, and the last trumpet. It would thus appear that the *little* and *great* *semantra* are made of wood, at least in cases where there are any wooden *semantra* at all. We also find the term *κρούειν τὰς βαρέας**, but the expression does not refer to bells, but to a peculiar method of ringing them. It is practised at funerals; also, at first, for Lauds.

Notwithstanding the bells which I have mentioned as existing at the Holy Mountain, the *semantra* are also in use there. Allatius mentions that in the monastery of S. Dionysius one is thus inscribed, (for I shall not do the verses much injury by the following translation:)

What and whence art thou, holy wood* ?
—Once in the forest glade I stood :
Thence hewn long since, and planed and bored,
I grace the Temple of the Lord :
As Deacons' hands the mallets jar
I thunder out my voice afar :
That all may seek the Lord within,
And find forgiveness of their sin.

And, according to Petrus Bellonius†, in his time the Holy Mountain possessed nothing but *haghiosidera*. “Tant les uns,” says he, “que les autres, ont un fer epais de trois doigts, long comme le bras, et quelque peu vouté en arc, pendu a la porte de l’Eglise, attaché a un clou, lequel rend un son presque semblable a une cloche, ayant le son clair

* Τυγicum. ἀνέρχεται καὶ κρούει τὰς βαρέας σχολαίως. Typic. 19. περὶ δὲ ἑβραν β'. τῆς νυκτὸς κρούει τὰς βαρέας. And again: κρούει ὁ καθολικὸς πρῶτον σχολαιότερον μέχρι τῶν πεντή-

κορτα.

* Allatius had them from his friend Athanasius, Archbishop of Imbros, who had been educated at the Holy Mountain:—

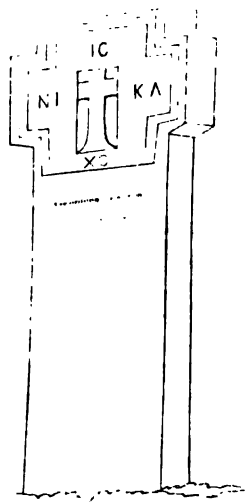
πόθεν πέφυκας, ὦ ξύλον ;
ξύλον οἶσθα με ἐν μέσῳ τοῦ δρομέως
ἔστι κτύποις, καὶ στίφει θανατοῦμαι
νῦν δὲ κρέμομαι ἐν τῷ ναφ̃ Κυρίου.
χεῖρες με κρατοῦν εὐλαβῶς διακόνων,
καὶ σφυροκοποῦσι με φωνὰς ἐκτέμνω
ἵνα πάντες ἴδωσιν ἐν τῷ [ναφ̃] Κυρίου,
ἵνα λύσω ἐβρωσιν ἁμαρτημάτων.

comme un métal, et n'out point d'autres sonnares en la montagne que ce fer : quand il faut venir aux prières, ils sont tous appellés au son du fer surdit."

53. *Crosses.* We are not to look in the East for those beautiful works of art and piety, the village and churchyard crosses of the Western Communion. Some there may have been which have fallen before Turkish profanity; but the theory of dedicating the loveliest spots of mountains or valleys to God, of raising the mind of the traveller to heaven, of commemorating a deliverance or a violent death by the erection of a cross, seems not to have been in accordance with the genius of the East.

There are, however, two remarkable exceptions; the crosses of Circassia, and those of Wallachia.

54. The crosses of Circassia seem to have abounded principally between Souvachi and the Alps; that is, (I am referring to the magnificent official map lately published at S. Petersburg,) not in Circassia proper, but in Mingrelia proper, Abkhasia, Ossetia, Vanged. They are of this form, which is to be found at Bati Merza^a, near Aghsmug. There is a mutilated inscription, but I have not been able to procure an explanation. These crosses are viewed with great veneration by the heathen inhabitants. The feeling is so completely Western that I should not hesitate to connect them with the close alliance supported between the Crusaders and the Rubendean dynasty of Armenian Kings, were it not for the inscription IC XC NIKA, JESUS CHRIST conquers, which is as thoroughly Greek as IHC is Latin. It is imprinted, as we shall see, in the Holy Oblation: it appears on the coins of many of the Byzantine Emperors: it is almost the last symbol which the Crusaders would have adopted. We must perhaps



CIRCASSIAN CROSS.

^a This is taken from Mr. Bell's work on Circassia.

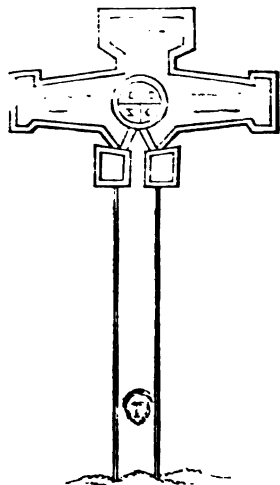
therefore connect it with the marriage between Bagration, King of Georgia, and the daughter of the Emperor Romanus.

Another kind of crosses exists in Circassia. On some very aged oaks small iron crosses may be found chained to the branches. These also are regarded with great veneration, and must necessarily be of considerable antiquity.

55. The crosses of Wallachia, however, afford a much closer parallel to the way-side crosses of the Western Church. They are usually^r from ten to twelve feet in height, are of stone or wood, and are generally covered with inscriptions in the Wallachian character. They extend along the roads from the Danube to the Carpathian mountains, and sometimes occur in a group of ten or twelve. The following cut will give an idea of their appearance. Towards the south the inscription is IC. XC., but as the traveller advances towards the north it Latinizes into IHC.

Some of them are of extreme antiquity, but they also occur of very modern date, as a usual vow in Wallachia is to erect a bridge or to build a cross.

56. Gable crosses are usually of metal, and differ very materially from those of the Latin Church. The arms are frequently attached to the base by small gilt chains; and in Russia the S. Andrew's cross, in reference to the supposed Apostle of that country, is frequent, and is thus arranged. A triple cross is not unusual, more especially at Moscow, probably there in reference to the Patriarchal dignity of that city, but also in the north of Russia, and even in Finland. In these cases the lower bar usually faces a different point of the compass from that to which the two upper ones are directed.



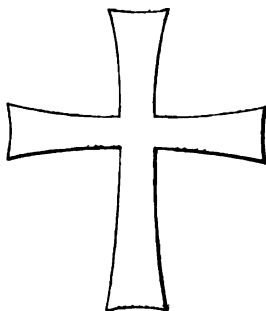
WALLACHIAN CROSS



RUSSIAN GABLE CROSS.

^r Frankland's Travels to and from Constantinople, p. 29; Walsh's Journey from Constantinople, p. 363. The cut is from Frankland.

57. Although dedication crosses, in the Latin use of the term, are unknown, exterior crosses in the fabric of the church are more common than in the West, and would appear to have been so from very early times. Throughout the ruined churches of Lycia there is one invariable form of this cross, which I give^a below. In like manner the exterior of Armenian churches are covered with them; and the same thing holds true of Georgia, and, to a certain extent, of Greece.



58. Of the orientation of Eastern churches there is little to say. It is universal through Asia, as well as Europe, a fact which shews that one reason vulgarly assigned for the practice, the turning to Jerusalem, was a later explanation, and belonged to the West exclusively. Orientation is more strictly observed in the Eastern than in the Latin Church, inasmuch as it is well known that in many of the early churches in Rome and elsewhere no such principle prevailed. The only two instances with which I am at present acquainted in which it is departed from, are those^b of Haghios Georgios, near Kissamo-Kastel, in Crete, which orientates north, and of the Asomatoi, near Cape Matapan, in the Morea, which orientates south; and in both these cases the churches occupy the site of ancient heathen temples.

In connection with this subject it should be mentioned that, by a singular adoption of a Mahometan practice, many of the Syro-Jacobites, in their prayers, turn towards Mecca.

^a Fellows's *Travels in Lycia*, i. 250.

^b Pashley's *Crete*, ii. 33.

58. The monuments of the Eastern Church, while they do not aspire to the magnificence of those of mediæval Europe, are yet some of them very beautiful. Flat slabs in the churchyard are the commonest; they are sometimes simply inscribed with the cross, sometimes have also a legend. These resemble the following:

ἔδω κείται
ἡ δούλη τοῦ Θεοῦ
Εἰρήνη.

IC XC
Ἀλέξανδρος Μπαριώτης
ἔδω κείται.

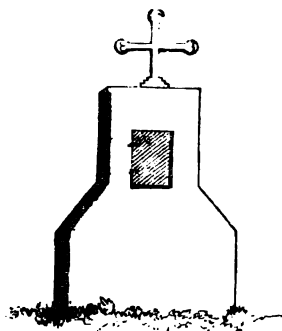
In the west of Greece and Albania the monuments are frequently of this form. In the middle is a square hollow, with a door: in some festivals a lamp is here lighted.

In Armenian churchyards a very curious kind of monument is found. It is a coped high tomb, of which the west end projects to some distance in the fashion of a ram's head.

This signifies that the person commemorated was a sheep-owner, for Armenian tombs almost always bear some reference to the occupation of the deceased.

In country places in Russia the usual material is wood, and the form the crusulated Greek cross. On one side is the name of the deceased, who is called, "The servant of God:" on the other, first, "In the name of the FATHER, and of the SON, and of the HOLY GHOST:" then some such expression as "Eternal memory to thee:" "Peace to thy remains:" "The eternal kingdom to thee:" "Salvation to thy soul." On some conspicuous part of the monument is almost always inscribed, "Good Christians are entreated to pray for the soul of"

59. One remark may be made on Eastern dedications, namely, the influence which the deity to whom a temple on or near the spot now occupied by a church has exercised in



the choice of a patron Saint. Thus the temple of Apollo has frequently given place to the church of S. Elias^u, the nun-god yielding to the prophet that went up to heaven in a chariot of fire; S. Nicolas, the patron there, as among us, of fishermen, has naturally taken the place of Neptune; S. Michael, the *ψυχαγωγός* of the Christian Church, has supplanted Mercury; while a similarity of name has converted the temple of Bacchus into the church of SS. Sergius and Bacchus. So in Egyptian frescoes^v Osiris has been transformed into the Creator; Isis and Horus into our Lady and the Divine Child; and this more especially at Thebes and Dendera.

60. Of the inscriptions which frequently decorated Eastern churches, the following may serve as examples:

Arcadi, the monastery church, Crete^x:

μνήσθῃτι κῆ τῆς ψυχῆς τοῦ δούλου σου
 νεοφύτου ἱερομοναχοῦ
 τοῦ καθηγουμένου
 καὶ πάσης τῆς ἐν χῶ
 ἡμῶν ἀδελφότητος. αχ. ητ. (1683.)

Haghia Triada, in Meteora^y:

ἀνοικοδομήθη ὁ πάνσεπτος
 οὗτος ναὸς τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν
 ἰησοῦ χριστοῦ διὰ συνδρομῆς
 τοῦ τιμωτάτου ἐν μοναχοῖς Ἰώσαφ.

Sparta in Pisidia^z:

ὑπὲρ μνημῆς καὶ ἀναπάνσεως
 παύλου ἐπικαδίου ἀνέκτισε τὸν
 ναὸν ἀρχαγγέλων ἰνδ αγ.

Near Geredith, between Amasea and Constantinople^a:

Ζιαυλὶς Φευθεὶ
 τῷ θρέψαντι
 καὶ φυσικοῦ πατρὶ
 μνημῆς καὶ εὐσεβείας χάριν.

^u Hughes, Greece and Albania, i. 374.

^v Madden's Travels in Egypt, ii. 26.

^x Pashley's Crete, i. 309.

^y Hughes, Albania and Greece, ii. 509.

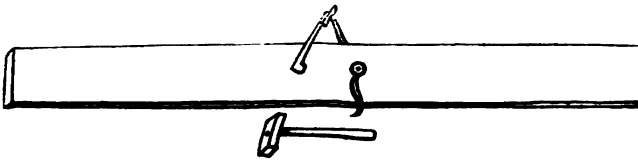
^z Fellows, Lycia, 164.

^a Morier, Travels, i. 367.

Of an inscription in verse, the following, from the convent of God the Benefactor at Constantinople, may be quoted :

σκόπει θεατὰ, καὶ τὸν ὕψου νυμφίον
καὶ δυνάμεις κυκλοῦσι, καὶ τ' ἄλλα στέφη
τὸ τῶν μοναστῶν ἀκροώμενοι μέλος
ὡς ἀντίπαις ἔλαμψεν ἡ σωτηρία,
φρίττουσι τὴν ὀφθεῖσαν ἐξ ὕψους χάριν.

61. In conclusion, it is important to observe the very small size of Eastern, as compared to Western, churches. The extreme length of S. Sophia, which is on a perfectly gigantic scale, if measured by the rest, is far exceeded by most English cathedrals. The greater breadth, however, of the Oriental form, in some degree makes up for the disproportion. Sixty or seventy feet is an average length of most Byzantine cathedral churches ; and some even of Metropolitan dignity, as at Athens, do not attain to this.



WOODEN SEMANTRON.

COLYMBION.
(from a fresco.)

HAGHIOSIDERON

CHAPTER III.

FIRST PERIOD OF EASTERN ECCLESIOLOGY.

A.D. 330—537.

It is not my intention to write an essay on the primitive churches of the Christians. That most interesting task remains to be yet accomplished. The first epoch, however, of ecclesiastical architecture, is not sufficiently connected with our present more immediate subject to call for a minute consideration in this place.

I shall content myself with mentioning a few of the churches, anterior to the reign of Justinian, which still remain in the East.

Those erected by Constantine may be divided into four classes: basilican, circular, octagonal, and cruciform.

Basilican churches are in the East called dromic. This is clearly proved (whatever Allatius^a may assert to the contrary) by the testimony of Theodore Zygomalas^b, by the fact that S. Anastasia^c at Constantinople, a basilican church, is called by that name, and by the general consent of writers. Of this kind was the first church of S. Sophia^d, that of S. Dynamis^e, and in all probability that of S. Irene. To

^a De recent. Gr. templ., p. 164. I cannot think why Du Cange, Gloss. Med. Gr. 381, says, unde nescio an Allatio sententia non respuenda sit, when he has just before proved it absolutely wrong.

^b It appears from this writer, that a dromic temple was like a narthex: that is, long in proportion to its breadth: *δρομικὸν διὰ τὴν πλάτην.*

^c Constantin. de Admin. Imp. 29: *ὁ δὲ ναὸς τῆς ἁγίας Ἀναστασίας ἐστὶ δρομικὸς, ὁμοίος τῷ Χαλκοκρατείων ναῷ.*

^d Codinus, Orig. Constantinop. 72: *ἐν τῇ μεγάλῃ ἐκκλησίᾳ τῇ ἁγίᾳ Σοφίᾳ δρομικῇ τὸ πρότερον οὖσαν.*

^e Codinus, ap. Du Cange in Constantinop. Christ. ii. 72.

these three attributes of our LORD, as our Wisdom, our Strength, and our Peace, did the piety of Constantine erect three separate churches. Of the same nature was that of S. Acacius¹, that of S. Andronicus, that of S. Mary of Chalcostrate, that of the Holy Apostles², all at Constantinople.

In the present chapter the reader will find an account of two, which, though much posterior to Constantine, have the same figure, Bosrah in Arabia, Xanthus in Lycia.

The church of the Holy Sepulchre³, in Jerusalem, was round; but I am not aware of any now existing in the East, and dating from the first epoch, which are of that form.

The famous church at Antioch¹ was octagonal; so was that built by S. Gregory², father of S. Gregory Nazianzen. There are several which, in a certain sense, are octagonal, in Lycia. I shall give an example from the neighbourhood of Tlos.

It is true that we also read of cruciform churches¹; but these were, in all probability, only quasi-transseptal, the transepts not projecting beyond the side walls, as is the case in the normal form of Byzantine churches. Of this the reader will find instances in the rock churches of Inkerman and Midiah.

These early buildings were surmounted by domes, usually covered with lead, and often gilt.

¹ *δρομικὴν, ὁμοίαν τοῦ ἁγίου Ἀνδρονίκου. καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου Ἀκακίου.* Anonym. de S. Sophia, ap. Du Cange, u. a.

² Codin. Orig. Constantinop., 80: τοὺς δὲ ἁγίους Ἀποστόλους ἔκτισε ἡ μήτηρ αὐτοῦ σὺν αὐτῇ, δρομικὴν ξυλόστεγον ποιήσασα.

³ Euseb. Vit. Constantin., iii. 38.

¹ Euseb. H. E., iii. 1.

² S. Greg. Nazianz. Or. de Patre, 19.

¹ There is a difficulty about the church of the Holy Apostles. Codinus, as we have seen above, makes it to have been basilican; but S. Gregory Nazianzen expressly says,

σὺν τοῖς, καὶ μεγάλων ἔδος Χριστοῦ μαθητῶν
πλευραῖς σταυροῦ τοῖς τέτραχα τεμνόμενον.

Again, Codinus calls it *ξυλόστεγον* Eusebius, Vit. Constantin., (iv. 59,) calls it *χαλδόστεγον*. Instead of saying with Du Cange, "ut vix ulla fides præstenda videatur Græculis istius inferioris ævi," it would, perhaps, be more reasonable to conclude that Con-

stantine first made it *dromic*, and with a roof of wood; but afterwards, perhaps on occasion of the translation of the relics of SS. Luke and Andrew into it, (Zonaras, 20; Menæa, Nov. 30; Niceph. Callist., x. 11,) he rebuilt it on a quasi-cruciform plan.

By degrees^m, more especially from the time of Theodosius downwards, the present Byzantine form acquired consistency and uniformity. It developed the central dome; the four transeptal and nearly similar façades; the cross of equal arms, not projecting beyond the lateral walls; the tri-apsidal eastern end. The apses were, in this first stage of art, always exteriorly semicircular. The domes were pierced with narrow circular-headed windows, filled in with stone, worked in circular openings. The other windows were comparatively few in number, generally of single, but sometimes, towards the end of the style, of two adjacent lights. The exterior was covered, in many instances, with sculpture. The cornices, of stone, marble, or brick, were strongly marked features. The narthex was usually a component part of the building, and not a mere lean-to. Over it was generally the women's gallery, which sometimes also extended round the north and south sides of the nave and choir.

I now proceed to a brief notice of such Eastern churches now remaining, as can properly be assigned to this epoch.

A church in OOROOMIAH is referred,—but I know not that there is any thing but tradition to support the date,—to the second century, while that of MAR BAR THOLMAI, in ALBAGH, is considered hardly later.

S. JAMES, at NISIBEEN, is probably the earliest of those which have well-authenticated dates; it was erected in the fourth century, and is probably the very same building in which S. James of Nisibis was praying before the miraculous rout of Sapor and the Persian army. Mr. Rich, when at Nisibeen, made accurate drawings of this most venerable temple; it is much to be regretted that they have not been made public. I have searched for them in vain among the Rich MSS. in the British Museum. The descriptions of modern travellersⁿ are too vague to permit of any accurate idea being formed of the church itself.

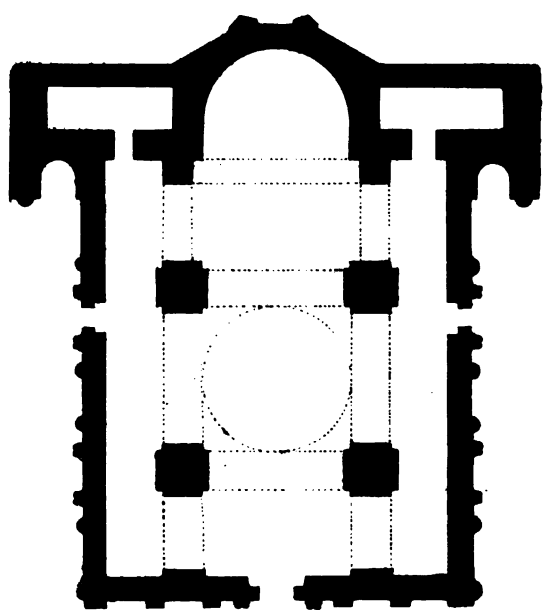
The church of MIRIAM-EL-ATHRA, at MOSUL, is another of those which are referred to primitive times^o, and is on the same model with S. James of Nisibeen.

^m See Couchaud, p. 2.

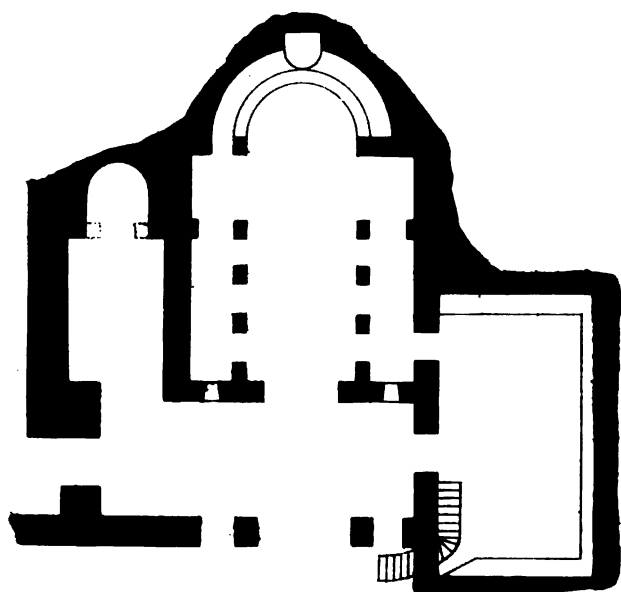
Niebuhr, ii. 308; D'Olivier, iv. 247.

ⁿ Buckingham, Travels, i. 445;

^o Buckingham, Mesopotamia, ii. 33.



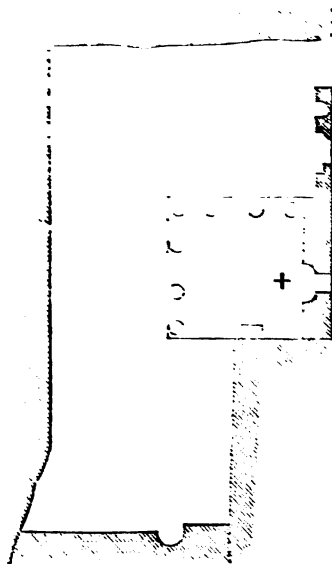
Digbore



Inkman

MAR THOMA, near the Lake of OOROOMIAN^p, built on the spot where the holy Apostle set forth on his journey to India, is of the same date.

The rock church of TEPEKERMAN^q, in the Crimea, of which the annexed is a ground-plan, is of a very early epoch. Tradition reports it to have been excavated by the Arians, and we may well fix its date at about A.D. 350. The entrance is at the north-east, the length of the church being from north to south. The bema has on its north side a kind of return to the iconostasis, its south side being shut in by the rock. I have already given a western view of this iconostasis. The synthronus in this case is wanting. It shews how strong the feeling, even at that early time, must



GROUND PLAN OF THE CHURCH OF
TEPEKERMAN.

have been in favour of orientation, that the inconvenience of the present arrangement should have been adopted, rather than that the Altar should have been placed in what would otherwise have been its natural position, the south end.

To rather a later date I refer the rock church of INKERMAN, also in the Crimea, and also Arian. Here, however, we have a regularly formed building, with synthronus still remaining. The narthex is well defined, and ends, at its south end, in a baptistery. I have given a ground-plan of this church on the opposite page.

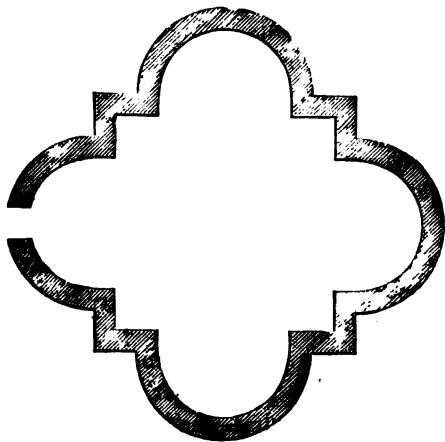
The large church at GAZA, which has since been desecrated as a mosque, and is now in ruins, was founded by the Empress Eudoxia. S. Porphyrius, Bishop of Gaza, went to Constantinople in order to obtain authority for the abolition

^p Etherton, *Syrian Churches*, p. 110. M. Dubois de Montpéreux's *Voyage*

^q This plan, and the next, are from *autour Du Caucase*.

of eight temples with which his city was infested. Arrived there he found the Empress Eudoxia on the eve of her confinement, and is said to have prophesied that the expected infant would be a son. As soon as the birth of Theodosius the Younger confirmed the prediction, the gratitude of Eudoxia manifested itself in the procurement of the required edict, and in the donation of a sum sufficient for the erection of a large church. This was consecrated by S. Porphyrius with great pomp, on Easter day, A.D. 406¹. The plan is on the usual Byzantine type.

The rock church of MIDIAH, on the Hellespont, is perhaps a little later, but not less curious. There are here synthronus, prothesis, and diaconicon; the narthex at its south end opens (as at Inkerman) with doors, into a domed baptistery. To this, and to half of the narthex itself, there is a west aisle, and a broad ambulatory extends round the south and east ends of the church. The ground-plan is on the opposite page².

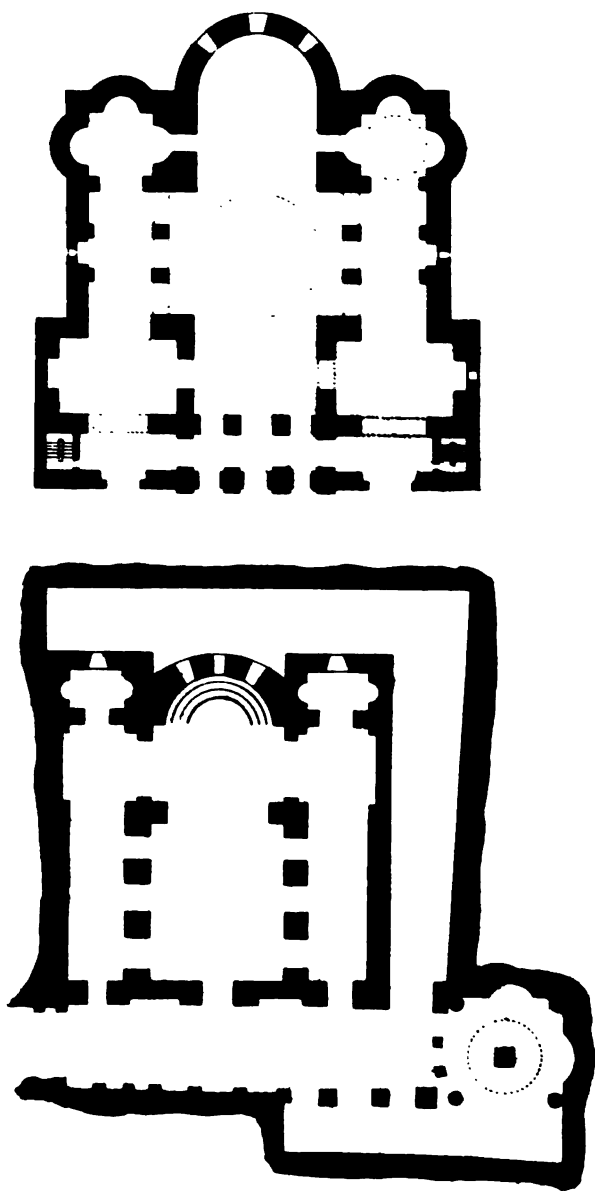


GROUND-PLAN OF THE CHURCH OF TLOS.

The singular church near TLOS, in Lycia, given above, is of the fifth century. It may be profitably compared with

¹ Vit. S. Porphy. a Marco conscript. memoir by M. Roux, represented in No. 93; Bolland., Feb. 26; Tillemont, the seventh volume of the *Memoires* H. E., x. 800; Le Quien, O. C., iii. 614. *Geographiques* of Eyries and Malte

² This ground-plan is taken from a Brun.



S. Clement: Anaglyph

Medusa

1. The first part of the paper discusses the importance of the study of the history of the English language. It is noted that the English language has a long and rich history, and that the study of its development is essential for a full understanding of the language.

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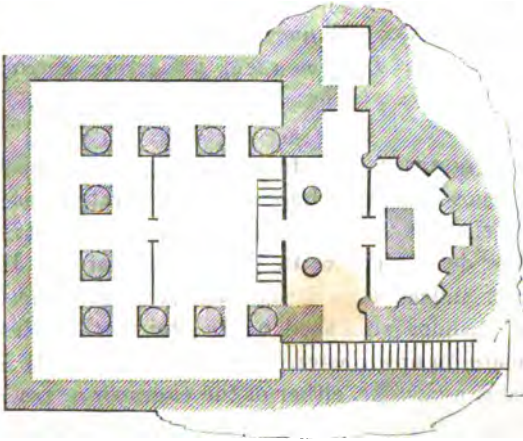
8. The eighth part of the paper discusses the importance of the study of the history of the English language. It is noted that the English language has a long and rich history, and that the study of its development is essential for a full understanding of the language.

9. The ninth part of the paper discusses the importance of the study of the history of the English language. It is noted that the English language has a long and rich history, and that the study of its development is essential for a full understanding of the language.

10. The tenth part of the paper discusses the importance of the study of the history of the English language. It is noted that the English language has a long and rich history, and that the study of its development is essential for a full understanding of the language.

S. Vitale, at Ravenna, of which the date is 547. It is curious that the ground-plan of this Lycian church is precisely the same with the usual form in which, in the West, the Evangelistic symbols are represented.

SIGNAKH, in Georgia. This is a very small church, referred to the fourth century. It possesses the remains of S. Nina, the illuminator of Georgia. The arrangement is, bema, without separate prothesis, diaconicon, naos, and western narthex. On a stone of the south door is the inscription, "I George restored it." The Altar and table of prothesis are formed of one stone; the diaconicon is also the chapel of S. Nina, and her monument, a flat stone richly sculptured, occupies its whole length and half its breadth. Besides the four central piers there are two to the trapeza. The walls are frescoed with a host of Georgian Saints; S. Nina herself is painted on the iconostasis. This church stands beautifully on elevated table-land among the mountains.



GROUND-PLAN OF GEBEL-EL-TERR.

The rock church of GEBEL-EL-TERR, on the Nile, is of nearly the same date¹. It is entered by a flight of steps from the south-east. The fourfold division is clearly defined by wooden screens, and the choir seems exactly to correspond with the soleas. The bema is to the north of the choir, the diaconicon to the south of it, but under the steps of entrance. The two small

¹ The plan is from Curzon's *Monasteries in the Levant*, p. 110.

columns in the choir are Corinthian, of plastered brick. The apse has six pilasters, and a synthronus of three niched seats; the latter are now used as receptacles for the icons, &c.

To a later period are to be referred the ruins of a remarkable *dromic* church, the cathedral of *BOSRAH*, the remains of which are tolerably perfect, and of considerable size. Bosrah, as the Metropolitan See of Arabia, must have been a place of no small consequence, till it fell, shortly after the death of Mahomet, before the first fury of the Saracens.

An inscription on its walls runs thus :

+ ΕΠΙΤΟΥΘΕΟΝΝΕCΤΝΟΥΚΝΟΞΙΩΑΝΤΟΥΙΟΥΝ . . . ΟΥ . . . ΠΧΙ-
ΕΠΙCΚΡΟΚΟΔΟΜΗΘΗΚΑΙΕΓΕΝΙΩΘΗΟΑΤΙΟCΑΡΑΟCΕΠΤΙΟΥΒΑΧΧΟ-
ΥΡΜΑ . . . ΕΟΝΤΙΟΥΙΩΝΑΘΝΟΘΡΩΝΚΜΚΑΜ . ΝΙΚΩΝΜΑΡΤΥΡ-
ΩΝΕΝΠΤΙ . .

This is the legend as given by Buckingham^u; and making allowance for its gross faults, I read, ἐπὶ τοῦ θεοφιλεστάτου καὶ ὁσιωτάτου Ἰουν[ιάν]ου, ἀρχι[ερέως καὶ] ἐπισκόπου, ᾠκοδομήθη καὶ ἐγενιωθη (?) ὁ ἅγιος ναὸς Σειργίου [καὶ] Βάχχου . . . ἀθλοφόρων καὶ καλλυνίκων μαρτύρων.

The words after *Βάχχου* seem altogether corrupt; the nearest approach to the letters would be *Σειργίου, Βάχχου, καὶ Δεοντίου*.

It seems, however, next to certain that the name of the Bishop in whose time the church was consecrated was Junian.

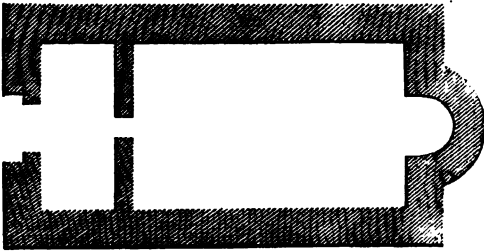
Now in the list of those Metropolitans of Bostra whose names have descended to us, no such Prelate as Junianus occurs: nor indeed does it appear, on a reference to the indices of Bishops published by Le Quien, that there ever was a Prelate, in any Eastern See, of that name. It is therefore probably a mistake, either of the engraver or transcriber, for Julianus. Now there was a S. Julian who was Metropolitan of Bostra in the time of the heretical Emperor Anastasius, by whom he was expelled from his See for refusing the Communion of his Patriarch, the arch-heretic Severus of Antioch. He is mentioned by Victor Tunnunensis and Evagrius as a disciple of S. Theodosius the Archimandrite. John Moschus tells us that poison was once offered to him, but that after making the sign of the cross over the cup^r

^u Arab Tribes, 196.

^x H. E., iii. 33.

^r Prat. Spiritual., cap. 94.

he took it without harm. He returned to his See on the death of Anastasius, and was received with the greatest joy. Anastasius died in 518, and nothing seems more likely than that, on his return, the good Bishop should have employed himself in the erection of this church, which will thus date about 520. And a curious verbal coincidence may be noted between the inscription first quoted and a MS. life of S. Julian referred to by Le Quien^a as in his possession. The inscription speaks of the Prelate as *ἀρχιερέως καὶ ἐπισκόπου*. The life has this passage: *ὁ μακάριος Ἰουλιανὸς τὸν τῆς ἀρχιερωσύνης κατὰ τὴν Βόστραν παρὰ τοῦ Θεοῦ τῶν ὅλων διέπων χάριν, ἐκ πόλεως θαυμαστῆς ποιμὴν γέγονεν ἀριστος, κ. τ. λ.* The *ἀρχιερέως* was hardly then so common as it afterwards became.



GROUND-PLAN OF THE CHURCH OF XANTHUS.

The church of the monastery of XANTHUS, in Lycia, would also appear of this date: the above is a rough ground-plan.

The last church that I shall mention of this date is that of S. CLEMENT at ANCYRA, so named after an early Prelate and martyr of that See^a. In the absence of all data we may fix the building as belonging to the middle of the sixth century, both from the shape of the central apse, and from the remarkable form of the prothesis and diaconicon, so exactly agreeing with the early Lycian church near Tlos, which I have recently given. The ground-plan is on the opposite page^b.

^a O. C., ii. 858.

^a Martyrolog. Roman. Jan. 23.

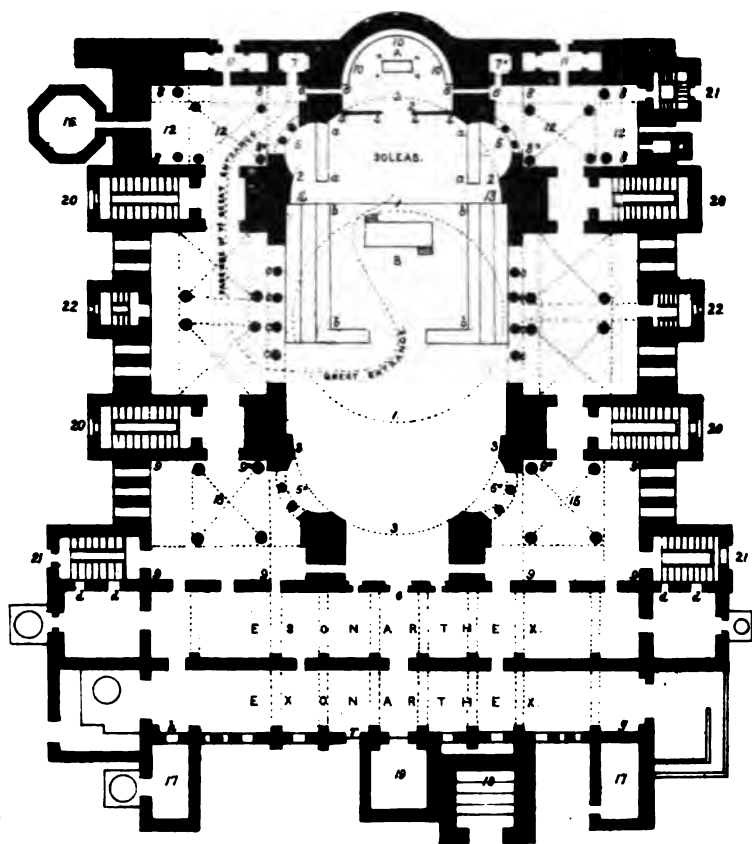
^b The ground-plan is from M. Texier's Travels in Asia.

CHAPTER IV.

THE CHURCH OF THE ETERNAL WISDOM AT CONSTANTINOPLE.

THE church of S. Sophia was so completely the normal type of every future stage of Byzantine art, that it would be inexcusable to omit a detailed description of it in the present place. I can neither hope nor pretend to add any thing to the researches of Du Cange, Banduri, and Gyllius, except perhaps method and combination. The stupendous erudition of the first named writer is perhaps unique in the annals of literature : the reader would imagine that Du Cange had resided all his life in mediæval Constantinople, and can only by an effort realize the fact, that he lived in a far distant country, and wrote of a bygone age. I shall freely use his references and deductions in the following account of the Great Church, but shall not uselessly swell my pages with his name, which would occur many times in each. His account, however, of S. Sophia, while supplying almost every authority for its description, shews him to have been mistaken, as we shall hereafter see, in many of his conclusions and details.

2. The note of Gibbon, (vii. 117,) is so pertinent, that I cannot do better than transcribe it. "Among the crowd of ancients and moderns who have celebrated the temple of S. Sophia, I shall distinguish and follow, 1. Four original spectators and historians : Procopius, in his work on the Edifices of Justinian; lib. i. c. 1; Agathias, pp. 152, 3; Paul the Silentiary, in a poem of 1036 hexameters; and Evagrius, lib. iv. 31. 2. Two legendary Greeks of a later period, George Codinus, de Origin. Constantinop., pp. 64—74; and the anonymous writer of Banduri, tom. i. pp. 65—80. 3. The great Constantinopolitan antiquary, Du Cange, Constan-



*The Panarchal Church of the Eternal Wisdom at Boston Heights.
(with conjectural restoration of the dome)*

tinop. Christiana, lib. iii. pp. 5—78. 4. Two French travellers, the one Peter Gyllius, the other Grelot, *Voyage de Constantinop.* Paris, 1680." Grelot I quote with the greater pleasure, because the copy I have employed was a present from the author to the public library at Cambridge, and has various corrections in his own hand. To Gibbon's authorities I add the researches of Pococke; Michaud, *Correspondence d'Orient*; Andreossi, *Constantinople et le Bosphore*; Fisher's illustrations of Constantinople, the letter-press of which is from the pen of Dr. Walsh: and above all Von Hammer's *Constantinopolis und der Bosphoros*.

3. On the destruction of the Great Church in the sedition known by the name of Nika, which began Jan. 13, 532, Justinian, whose passion for building was the ruling feature of his life, determined to erect a church which should excel all those then in existence. The execution of the work was committed to Anthemius* of Tralles, the first architect as well as mechanician of his time, and Isidore of Miletus; but the Emperor reserved to himself the power of suggesting, altering, or improving. Artists were collected from the whole world^b; heavy taxes^c were imposed to supply the im-

* The Silentiary is loud in his praises :

τέχνην
καὶ νόον Ἀνθεμίου κεκασμένον ἔμφορον βουλῆ·
κείρος ἀνὴρ τὰ πρῶτα θεμελίαια πῆξας τοιοῦ
εὐκαμάτων βουλῆσιν ὑπαδρόσσαν βασιλῆων·
δεινὸς ἀνὴρ καὶ κέντρον ἱλεῖν καὶ σχῆμα χαράξαι.

Of Isidore he says, in more moderate language :

ἦν δὲ σὺν αὐτῷ
πάνσοφος Ἰσιδωρος, ἔχων νόον.

χαράξαι was the technical term for making the working drawings: and so χαρακτηρ.

^b Procopius, de *Ædific.* i. 1: τοὺς τεχνίτας ἐκ πάσης γῆς ἡγείων ἅπαντας, (a phrase which from its quasi-metrical nature seems to have come from one

of the lost lines of the Silentiary), and then he goes on to praise Anthemius.

^c ἀφροντήσας χρημάτων ἀπάντων, is the expression of Procopius. The withdrawal of the salaries of the professors stands on the authority of Zinena. The Silentiary, very apixitedly :

καὶ γὰρ ἐμὸς σκηπτούχος δλης χθονὸς εἰς τὴν λοίστης
βάρβαρον, λίσσονται πολέτροπον ὄλβον ἐγείρας,
λαῖνον οὐκ ἔκρινεν ἐπαρκέα κόσμον ἐδέθλοισ
ἀμβροσίου νηοῖο θεουδέος, ᾧ ἐνι πάσης
ἐλπίδος εὐφροσύνην ὑπεραυχία θήκατο ῥάμην·

mense drain of money; the various salaries of the public teachers and professors were diverted to this channel; the riches of the East could hardly bear the expense of the undertaking. Ten thousand workmen were employed; and paid, every evening, in silver; Justinian, in a light tunic, was constantly at the works; the operations were pushed on with inconceivable speed; and costly presents flowed in from all sides to the rising pile.

4. The church of the Eternal Wisdom was commenced at eight o'clock on the morning of the 23rd of February^d, A.D. 532, and was consecrated on the 26th of December, A.D. 537. The time occupied by its erection was thus five years, ten months, and three days^e. Justinian's pardonable exclamation is well known,—“Glory be to God, Who hath accounted me worthy of such a work: I have conquered thee, O Solomon!” The church then dedicated was, however, very different from the present building: and it needed a stern instructor to convince Justinian that the work must be strengthened.

5. A series of earthquakes, in the thirty-second year of that Emperor, overthrew the eastern hemisphere; and overwhelmed the Altar in its ruin. The indefatigable prince recommenced the work, raising that part of the roof higher: and celebrated the second consecration in the thirty-sixth year of his reign, A.D. 561, from Christmas Eve to the Epiphany. The twenty-second of December is the day fixed by the Menæa for the commemoration of this august ceremony.

ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀργυρέοιο χύδην οὐ φείσατο κόσμον
ἐνθάδε Παγγαίῳ βάχῃς καὶ Ξουνιάς ἄκρη
ἀργυρέας ὥϊζαν ὕλας φλέβας· ἐνθάδε πολλοὶ
ἡμετέρων θημῶνες ἀνωίχθησαν ἀνάκτων.

^d The present reading of Cedrenus is wrong: ἐν τῇ στή' ἔτει ἀπὸ κτίσεως κόσμου, Ἰνδικτιῶνος ιε', τῆς κ' τοῦ Φεβρουαρίου μηνός, ὥρα πρώτη τῆς ἡμέρας· because, as Du Cange observes, the date of the Nika is so well fixed. But στή' ought to be στμ': and ιε' ought to be ι'. The commencement, however, must mean simply the

clearing away rubbish and the like: for only thirty-four days had elapsed since the end of the Nika.

^e Gibbon says, “five years, eleven months, ten days,” from carelessly reading Cedrenus, who is speaking of the time that elapsed between the Nika and the dedication.

6. The expense amounted to three hundred and twenty thousand pounds, whether of gold or silver is not expressly recorded. But I shall not be deterred by the sneer of Gibbon from expressing my belief, that gold must be intended: which would raise the amount to the sum of about thirteen millions. The solid masses of gold, the precious stones, the porphyry, jasper, and marble, the pay of ten thousand workmen for six years, the salary of artists, the transportation of materials, the immense fabrication of mosaic, these considerations may account for this immense expenditure, and render the other amount, one million, ridiculous and incredible.

7. The plan of S. Sophia may be described as a Greek cross inscribed in a square of 243 feet: with a slightly projecting eastern apse, and a double western narthex: a central dome flanked east and west by a semidome: the latter supported, to the east by three, to the west by two, conchs or apses. The extreme length, from the depth of the bema to the western wall of the outer narthex, is about 340 feet^f.

8. The great dome, 1, 1, 1, 1, rises from four massy piers. Well aware that the main being of the fabric depended on these, the architect formed them of a compact free-stone; the blocks were hewn into squares and triangles, braced with iron, and soldered with lead. They are strengthened by four prodigious buttresses, which rise in the exterior to the spring of the dome: and contain the staircases by which the women formerly ascended to the gynæconitis. The superincumbent dome rises to the height of one hundred and eighty feet from the pavement. Its usual epithet among the Greek writers, *aerial*, gives rise to a feeling of disappointment on first beholding it; its diameter being one hundred and eight, its vertical height but thirty-eight feet^h. But it was intended that its convexity should correspond with that of the sky, whence its name. To lessen the fear-

^f In all measurements of S. Sophia the extreme difficulty attending the task, not to say its danger, must be taken into consideration.

^g See, for the dome, the Silentiary,

ii. 74; Agathias, p. 152; Grelot, p. 103.

^h Du Cange's reasoning on this subject seems conclusive, Constantinop. Christ. ii. 32. Others make the height only eighteen feet.

ful weight of such an erection, while Justinian, to prevent accidents from fire, would not employ wood, either in the roof or elsewhere, he used pumice stone, light enough to float on water, and Rhodian bricks: the weight of the latter being but the sixth part of those of ordinary manufacture. There are twenty-four windows in the dome, small and low; the groining ribs spring from between them, and terminate in a circular vault; and immediately above these rose the great Cross, as now the accursed crescent. The dome was covered with mosaic of glass: the summit, as usual, representing a Majesty. The greater part of the designs has been effaced by the Turks. The mosaic is constantly falling; and being collected by the Imaums is formed into crosses, and sold to Christian visitors. The exterior is covered with lead.

9. To the east of the great dome rises the semi-dome, 2, 2, 2, 2, which¹ fell in the thirty-second year of the reign of Justinian. Providentially no lives were lost.

¹ It is not very easy to determine what it was that really fell. Many writers have asserted that it was only the eastern part of the central dome. Others have thought that it was only the semi-dome. Theophanes seems to assert as much. "Ἐπεσεν τὸ ἀνατολικὸν μέρος τῆς προπυστεύουσας τοῦ ἁγίου θυσιαστηρίου, καὶ συνέτριψε τὸ κιβώριον, καὶ τὴν ἁγίαν τράπεζαν, καὶ

τὸν ἄμβωνα. Now, evidently, nothing but the fall of the semi-dome could have destroyed both the ambon and the altar. But again, Agathias, describing the catastrophe, speaks of the μεταίτατον μέρος τῆς ὁροφῆς, καὶ πᾶντα ὑπὲρβαλλον ἀποβεβληκόντα, which seems to imply that the dome itself fell. The Silentiary gives the clearest account:

ἤδη μὲν σθεναροῖσιν ἐπεμβαυῖα θεμελίοις
σφαίρης ἡμιτόμοιο κατήριπε θέσκελος ἀνυξῖ·
— οὐδὲ μὲν εὐφρότερος ἐπὶ πλάσε μεχρὶ θεμελίαν
νῆος, ἀριστῶδινος ἐελμένος ἔμματος τέχνης·
ἀλλὰ μῆς ἀψίδος ἀπωλίσθησε κεραὶ
ἀντολικῇ, σφαίρης τε λάχος κοίτησιν ἐμίχθη·
ἦν δὲ τὸ μὲν δαπέδοισι, τὸ δ' εἰσέτι θάμβος ἰδῆσθαι
οἰκπερ ἀσκήρικτον ὁμίλουν ἐκαρεμὲς αἶραις.

With one exception this description is very easy. The half dome fell, and a part of the dome followed. The greater portion, however, stood firm, and overhanging the church as if by miracle. The only difficulty is in the τὸ δ' εἰσέτι θάμβος ἰδῆσθαι, if this means, as Du Cange thinks, (ad hunc usque diem

numine sustentata,) that the part, which was thus left suspended in the air, still stood at the time the Silentiary wrote, i. e. after the second consecration. But as Justinian rebuilt the whole of the dome, not any part of it could, on this supposition, be intended by the Silentiary, and the portion that was de-

It appears that not only the semi-dome, but the eastern portion of the great dome itself gave way ; and the Emperor resolved on a restoration of the whole. The central dome was now raised twenty-five feet, and the general effect considerably improved ; though, as we shall see, the interior never perfectly recovered its pristine glory. In the restoration, Justinian employed the services of Isidore the younger, the nephew of him who was engaged in the first erection of the church. But the master mind of Anthemius seems to have been wanting ; the eastern part again gave way, and was propped up by four buttresses, which form a conspicuous object from the Seraglio Place. It was again restored by Basil the Bulgaricide, at an expense, in scaffolding and machines alone, of ten centenaries of gold^k.

10. There is no difficulty about the position of the Altar, A, nor the iconostasis, 4, both of which I have already described ; but it is a curious fact that the situation of the prothesis is not certainly known. It will be well, in the first place, to give our best authority, the beautiful description of the Silentiary.

τρισὰ μὲν ἀντολικῶν ἀναπέπταται ἔνδια κύκλων
ἡμπεόμεν' ὑψοῦ δὲ μετ' ὄρθιον αἰχένα τειχῶν
σφαίρης τετρατόμοιο λάχος τὸ τέταρτον ἀνέρπει
οἷον ὑπὲρ τριλόφου καρήσας, ὑψόβη νάτων,
σχῆμα πολυγλήνοισι τὰς περὶ γέσσω ἐγείρει.

κρεμὲς αὐραὺς was the eastern part of the western semi-dome. But, in this case, why the continual reference to the ἀντολικὸν μέρος as that which fell ? Or how could the central dome be rebuilt without rebuilding the western as well as the eastern semi-dome ? So that not even the western one could have been preserved in its original state when the Silentiary wrote. We must therefore take *εἰσέτι* in the sense of—not, existing at the time the poem was composed, but—remaining erect even yet after the other part had fallen ; and so all becomes perfectly easy. For the rest, Theophanes, who remarks that the mass-piers were rebuilt, tells us that

the additional height was twenty feet. βασιλεὺς ἡγεῖνεν ἄλλους πινσοὺς, καὶ ἐδόξατο τὸν τρουῦλον, . . ὑψέσθαι πλέον εἰκόσι πῶδας εἰς ἀνάβασιν, ἕκασον τοῦ πρώτου κτίσματος. But Zonaras, and the greater part of Byzantine writers, make the difference to have been twenty-five feet. Later Greeks, to magnify the first church, declare that the latter was fifteen feet lower than the former dome.

^k δαπανήσας εἰς μόνας τὰς μηχανὰς τῆς ἀνάβας, δι' ὧν οὐ τεχνῖται ἰστέμνουν, καὶ τὰς ὕλας ἀναγομένας δεχόμενοι φκοδόμουν τὸ πεπρωκὸς, χρυσοῦ κεντηνάρια δέκα. So Scylitzes.

κόγχας ταῦτα κάρηνα σοφοὶ τεχνήμονι μύθη
 ἄνδρες ἠυδάξαντο· τὸ δ' ἄντρεκες, εἴτ' ἀπὸ κόγχου
 εἰσαλίον καλέουσι δαήμονες, εἴτ' ἀπὸ τέχνης
 αὐτοὶ που δεδάσαι· μέση δ' ἐξέωσατο θώκου
 μυστιπόλους, καὶ βάθρα περιδρομα.

And further on :

διχθαδίας δέ

ἡμιτελεῖς ἀψίδας δλίζοντας ἔχουσιν κόγχης
 ἄνδρες ὑπειλείξαντο δαήμονες, ἔω ὑπὸ πέζαν
 κίονες ἰδρύσαντο καρήατα δέσμη χαλεκῷ
 γλεύκεια, χρυσεότυκτα, παραπλάζοντα μερίμνας·
 εἰσὶ δὲ πορφυρέαις ἐπὶ κίοισι κίονες ἄλλαι,
 ἄγλαα Θεσσαλικῆς χλοερῶπιδος ἄνθεα πέτρης·
 ἐνθα τε θηλυτέρων ὑπερώϊα καλὰ νοήσεις·
 σχῆ[μα θ']ὅλον φορέουσιν, ὃ κίοθεν ἐστὶν ιδέσθαι·
 ἔξ δ' ὑπὸ Θεσσαλικῆς καὶ οὐ δυσὶ κίοισι λάμπει.
 ἵστι δὲ θαμβῆσαι νόον ἀνέρος, ὅς ποτε δοιαῖς
 πῆξαιτο θαρσαλέως ἐπὶ κίοισι τριστάκι δοιαῖς,
 οὐδὲ βάσιν κενέοιο κάτ' ἡέρος ἔτρεσε πῆξαι.

11. Now nothing is clearer than that the conchs here referred to are those which in the ground-plan I have marked 5. Here are the two piers below, and the six above, the half apse, and the gynæconitis. Du Cange forthwith makes the northernmost of these to have been the prothesis, the southernmost the diaconicon, and others have followed him. But, in opposition to this view, I must remark, 1. By the common consent of all, the iconostasis was under the eastern part of the semi-dome, in the position that I have marked 4 4 4 4. If, therefore, the prothesis and diaconicon were at 5 5, they were outside the bema. Now, had they been so at S. Sophia's, they would doubtless have generally been so in the innumerable churches of which that of the Eternal Wisdom was the norm. But there is not one example of such an arrangement; on the contrary, as we have seen, the prothesis and diaconicon are usually considered as forming part of the bema. 2. The narrow passages, marked 6, 6, which exactly correspond with the usual arrangement, would have been almost useless if the prothesis were in the conch, or, at least, could have been much better provided by cutting the mass-

pier obliquely. 3. The position of the women, exactly over the prothesis, would have been very inconvenient, and, I believe, without a parallel; nor does it appear easy to construct a screen which should preserve the hinder part of the conchs from profanation or injury.

12. These considerations are sufficient, I think, to warrant a conclusion that, let the prothesis and diaconicon have been where they might, it was not in the conchs; and the same suspicion seems faintly to have struck Du Cange. If we now enquire where they were, the only place that is left for us will be in 7, 7, recesses which would otherwise be absolutely useless; for the whole north-east and south-east area lay before the eastern doors, and so could not be available for this purpose. And if it be asked why, in this case, the passage through the parabema did not open immediately into the prothesis; I reply, clearly for the purpose of not interfering with the symmetry of the synthronus. Undoubtedly we might *a priori* have supposed that the prothesis would be larger, but it is also to be observed that the bema itself is very small.

13. The northern passage, 6, 6, is now occupied by a pue for the Sultan. The mehrab, or niche for the Koran, which faces Mecca, is at the south-east side of the apse: I will not profane the ground-plan by marking the spot. The place where the Mufti prays at the Ramazan and at the Bairam, is at the south end of the iconostasis.

14. Of the synthronus, 10, 10, I have nothing particular to observe, having already quoted the description which the Silentiary gives of it. The anonymous author of the description of S. Sophia will have it that there were only seven seats; but this is absolutely impossible, both from the size of the apse, and from the necessity of providing room for more Metropolitans and Bishops. There seem to have been two rows of stalls in this synthronus¹. The seats themselves were of silver gilt; the shafts which separated them (and probably carried a canopy) were of pure gold. In the conchs the two central pillars are of porphyry, their bases being of

¹ This appears from a passage of Con- Οἱ τε ἑρπυς θάνου, καὶ αἱ πρὸ τούτων
stantine Porphyrogenitus; (Basil Iv.) βαθυμίδες.

white marble; these, eight altogether, had formed part of the Temple of the Sun, erected by Aurelian at Rome, and were a present from a widow lady named Marcia. In like manner other piers were sent from Ephesus, (eight of green marble, and extreme beauty,) Cyzicus, and the Cyclades. The six columns which they support are of Thessalian marble, cloudy green; the latter simply carry a kind of vaulted canopy over the gallery, and above them towers the vast conch-arch, through which is dimly seen the square area beyond.

15. It is certain that, when first built, S. Sophia possessed but one eastern door; nor is it clear when the second was added. Paul the Silentiary expressly, *ἀλλ' ἐπὶ μὲν Φαέθοντα, πύλη μία*. There, however, have long been two; and the tradition is that Mahomet entered by the southernmost of them on his first visit to the church. They open into a small vestibule, and communicate by a narrow door with the area before, 12, 12.

16. The areas in front of these eastern doors exactly correspond with each other. They were supported by six columns of greyish white marble; but those marked 8* 8* have been long walled up against the great mass-piers, which are much distressed by the superincumbent weight of the dome. In the gallery above one of these areas, or *aulæ*, as they are more usually called, was the seat of the Empress. The first triforium has, on the interior, marble walls four feet in height, shaped like a desk, and the case is the same all round the church. The Silentiary says,

πάντα δὲ Θεσσαλικοῖο μεταίχμια κίονος ἀνὴρ
λαϊνοῖς ἔφραξεν ἰρείμασιν· ἔνθα κλιθεῖσαι
ἐργασίους ἀγκῶνας ἐπηρεύσαντο γυναῖκες.

The Θεσσαλικοὶ κίονες are, of course, the triforium piers. From this triforium a very excellent view of the church is obtained.

17. Another point of difficulty is the arrangement of the choir at S. Sophia's. The number of Clergy attached to it was immense. Thus we find that Justinian *limited* it to sixty Priests, a hundred Deacons, ninety Sub-deacons, a hundred

and ten Readers, twenty-five Singers. Thus there was a total of three hundred and eighty-five Clerks, besides forty Deaconesses, and a hundred Ostiarii. Now Du Cange denies that there was any formed choir. He alleges only two reasons in his favour; the passage of S. Symeon of Thessalonica which I have quoted in another place, and the fact that the ambon stood a little to the east of the centre of the dome. "But," argues he, "had the ambon been shut off in the choir, by a screen, from the nave, the Deacon could not have been seen or heard by the people." Certainly not; but, though there undoubtedly must have been a choir, it does not follow that it was separated from the nave by a screen: it does not even follow that the stalls were *returned*, though they probably were so. Du Cange places the Deacons in the diaconicon, (his diaconicon, it will be remembered, is the southern conch, 5,) a hundred men where fifty could not decently be accommodated. But where the Priests could have been placed he does not venture to decide. In after times these 385 Ecclesiastics were so greatly increased, that in a Novell of Heraclius we are informed that the *stalls*, *στάσεις*, could not suffice to contain them. Again, in the list of officials of the Great Church we read of the right and left choirs: where then was this choir, and where were the stalls?

18. Let us take a practical view of the subject: 385 Clerks could not only be conveniently accommodated, but a large addition was made to that number before the stalls were so full as to be crowded. We may thus assume that 400 Ecclesiastics could be easily placed in them. This demanded a space of not less than 800 feet: and can we imagine that so much room could be provided without forming an essential feature of the church? Further; when S. Sophia came into the power of the Latins, we hear that Canons were instituted; we do not hear that a choir was erected for their reception; nor again, among the various complaints of the Greeks, do we find that the Franks are accused of having entirely altered and re-fashioned the arrangement of the Great Church, which would be the case had a choir been erected where none previously existed.

19. It is known by tradition that the seat of the Emperor was at 13, and of the Patriarch at 14, that is, they were just within the soleas. And it is worthy of notice that the stalls of the Patriarch, and of the Princes of Moldavia and Wallachia, occupied the same respective position in the modern Patriarchal church. The Emperor sat below the Priests. Now if we place them in the soleas, in the stalls marked a, a, and leave those marked b, b, b, b, for the Deacons and inferior Clerks, we shall provide a sufficient space for the Ecclesiastics, while the ambon will stand, as it ought, a little to the east of the centre of the dome, and the Great Entrance would be performed from the prothesis by the dotted line marked accordingly. And I may observe that had the northern conch really been the prothesis, the magnificent procession which we know the Entrance of the Great Church to have been, could never, from want of room, have been formed. To conclude from the silence of Paul respecting the choir that there was none, would be as unreasonable as from the same cause to infer that there was no prothesis. It may not, however, be wrong, on these grounds, to conjecture that the workmanship of the stalls was nowise remarkable; nay, that they were perhaps movable. The only other possible position for the choir would be against the north and south walls of the quasi-aisles; and this might be supposed the more likely, because at S. Sophia of Kieff, which was imitated from S. Sophia at Constantinople, and at Gelath cathedral in Georgia, the case actually is so. But the answer is easy; that the quasi-aisles are expressly, by the ancient historians of S. Sophia, called *ἀνδρώνες* and are known to have been appropriated to the men, as the triforia over them were to the women.

20. The four columns c c c c, which separate the transepts, are monolithic of Egyptian granite. Their capitals very much resemble such Romanesque Corinthianizing work as those of Canterbury cathedral: they are banded just below the flowers. The arches themselves are worked in rich mouldings, and the spandrels are enriched with flowered circles. These support the first triforium, or gynæconitis. Above these four piers rise six smaller ones, which form the

face of the triforium, and much resemble the large ones on which they rest, except that the capitals are lighter and bolder, and, as we should say in England, more Transitional, and that the whole face of the spandrels is worked in arabesques. The cornices, both above and below the piers, are very strongly marked: the arabesques are worked in jasper, porphyry, and mother of pearl.

21. Over the first gynæconitis was the second, which merely opened into the interior by six plain arches. These have long been blocked up, the building having been so much shaken by earthquakes. Around the great dome, at its spring, runs a gallery, resembling in its construction the whispering gallery of S. Paul's.

22. The western semi-dome, 3, 3, 3, resembles that to the east, and need not detain us. The conchs are also similar to the corresponding ones; the piers, which are of porphyry, are banded with bronze, having begun to give way; while the aulæ, 15, 15, differ from those at the east in containing four piers only, instead of six.

23. Returning for one moment to the east, 16 is an octagonal building, which formed the greater sacristy. It is now employed for the purpose of holding the hay and corn needed for the horses in the seraglio.

24. The narthex next claims our attention. I have already said that it is double, and that from some unknown reason it is always spoken of as if there were four. The *esonarthex* opens on to the church by nine doors, to the *exonarthex* by five, one of which is now blocked, and, at its northern and southern extremities respectively by one. All these doorways are of marble; the doors themselves of bronze, exquisitely carved in floriated crosses, which the Turks have much mutilated; while the interportal wall is of variegated marble, and adorned with richly wrought alabaster. The *esonarthex* is double, the lower part being properly called by that name, the upper being a mere entrance into the women's galleries, to which there is access by the doors d, d, d, d. The great central door, e, has over it the figure of our Lord giving the benediction to a kneeling Emperor, while S. Mary stands at His right, S. John the Baptist at His left hand. The bronze

doors were the gift of the Emperor Michael, to replace the wooden ones which were destroyed by an accidental fire in his reign, and his name, *MIXAHA NIKITON*, is still to be seen on them.

25. The *exonarthex* is of inferior workmanship, and has been thought by some of later date than the rest of the church; but there seems no ground for this belief. It is simply waggon-vaulted, and paved with large pieces of marble disposed without order and without beauty. This *esonarthex* opened by three principal doors, h, g, r, into the area at the west of the church: of these r is now blocked. 19 is the bell-tower, erected, as I have said in another place, by the Emperor Michael, in 895, for the reception of the Venetian bells. These were afterwards cast into cannon by the Turks. 18 is the descent to the reservoir of water needed for the service of the church.

26. It will now be proper to take an exterior view of the building. We will begin with the western façade. Immediately below the dome, the semidome, and the conchs, rises the *esonarthex*, gabled on its north and south ends; it is supported by six vast but clumsy flying buttresses. Springing from the outside of the *exonarthex*, they abut on the *esonarthex*, just below the basement line of its upper tier of windows: and between each two buttresses are two sets of lights, two above and two below. The gable ends of the *esonarthex* have four lights, one and three. The *exonarthex* is a mere lean-to, and has one tier of two lights between each of the before-named flying buttresses. The bell-tower is a little higher than the *esonarthex*; it has three stages, the first without windows, the second pierced in a single arch on each side, the third in one arch to the north and south, and two to the east and west.

27. At the west end is a large open area, surrounded by a low cloister, and answering to the *atrium* of a basilic. The Silentiary names this the *αὐλή*, though that word is more conveniently restricted to the complements of the Greek cross that make up the square of S. Sophia. Theophanes and Cedrenus call it the *garsonostasion*, from the barbarous Greek *γαστρίων*, (Latin *garcio*, French *garçon*.) because there

the servant boys used to await the return of their masters from the Great Church. The Silentiary thus describes it:

ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀμβροσίῳ πρὸς ἐσπέριον πόδα νηοῦ
 τετράσιν αἰθούσῃσι περιδρομῶν ὄψαι ἀλλήν·
 ὡν μία μὲν νάρθηκι συνάπτεται, αἶγε μὲν ἄλλαι
 πεπταμέναι τελέουσσι πολυσχιδέουσι κελύθοις,

In the centre of this was the phiale, or reservoir, the use of which I have explained in the preceding chapter but one.

μηκεδανῆς ἐρίτιμον ἐς ὄμφαλον ἵσταται αὐλῆς
 εὐρυτάτῃ φιάλῃ τις ἰάσπιδος ἔκτομος ἀκρῆς·
 ἐνθα ῥόος κελάδων ἀναπάλλεται ἥερι πέμπειν
 ὠκὸν ἀναθρόσκοντα βίῃ χαλχίρεος αὐλοῦ·
 ὠκὸν ὧλων παθέων ἐλατήριον, ὅππότε λαὸς
 μὴνὶ χρυσοχίτωνι, Θεοῦ κατὰ μυστίν ἐορτῇν,
 ἐννυχίοις ἄχραντον ἀφύσσεται ἄγγελσιν ὕδωρ·
 ὠκὸν ἀπαγγέλλοντα Θεοῦ μένος.

It would be superfluous to call the reader's attention to the great beauty of these lines. The *μὴν χρυσοχίτων* is, of course, January, so called either from the presents usually made at the beginning of the year, or because magistrates then entered on their office, and appeared in their solemn robes in public.

28. The north and south sides are almost the same. Immediately under the dome is, beneath a vast arch of construction, a flat wall, pierced with twelve lights, seven and five. Below this, as a lean-to, is the upper gynæconitis with its six lights, and then, projecting much more boldly, the lower one. These are flanked by the enormous buttresses, 20, 20, which, in three huge stages, go towering up to the spring of the dome. They contain a staircase both to the upper and lower gallery, as the smaller buttresses, 21, 21, also do, whereas 22 simply conducts to the first gallery, and was that by which the Priests and Deacons ascended for the purpose of censuring it.

29. The east end is very much blocked up by the low exterior wall that surrounds the building. Below the dome comes the square roof of the *aulæ*, flanked by the eastern buttress-staircases; that rests against the semi-dome, which

has four windows close under the roof, each between two pilaster buttresses. The conchs are hardly seen, and the central apse itself but insignificant.

30. I cannot describe the marbles of which S. Sophia was composed better than in the words of Gibbon. "1. The Carystian, pale, with iron veins. 2. The Phrygian, of two sorts, both of a rosy hue, the one with a white shade, the other purple, with silver flowers. 3. The porphyry of Egypt, with small stars. 4. The green marble of Laconia. 5. The Carian, with oblique veins, white and red. 6. The Lydian, pale, with red flowers. 7. The African, of a golden hue. 8. The Celtic, black, with white veins. 9. The Bosporic, white, with black edges." I may add, 10. Thessalic, dusky green. The floor was of Proconnesian marble. The Silentary describes the bronze-work of the piers in verses which I cannot resist the temptation of quoting.

ἀλλὰ καὶ ὑψιλόφοις ἐπὶ κίουσιν, ἔνδοθι πίξης
λαϊνίης, προβλήτος ἔλιξ πολύκεστος ἀκάνθης
ὕγρα διερπύων ἀνελίσσεται, δεσμός ἀλήτης,
χρύσεος, ἱμερόεις, ἀκίδα τρηχέϊαν ἐλίσσων
μάρμαρα δ' ὀμφαλόεστα περιστέφει, εἴκε κλαδίσκοις
πορφυρέοις στίλβοντα, χάριν θελξίφρονα πέτρης.

Procopius is eloquent in praise of the variety of the marbles. "Who," says he, "can recount the beauty of the piers and walls, with which the church is glorified? The stranger would imagine that he stood in a meadow in its height of flower. He would admire this sea-blue tint, that leaf-green hue: he would mark how the purple flowers, and how the white glitters. Nature has variegated the marbles with the most opposite colours, like a painter." Etienne de Salignac, seven centuries later, expresses his admiration in more homely, perhaps more honest, terms. "Elle est ornée de plusieurs hautes et grosses colonnes bien rares, sçavoir huit de porphyre, seize de serpentín, et quatre de marbre blanc: et par dessus, d'une belle galerie pavée de marbre transparent, et de plusieurs petites colonnes de marbre et de serpentín."

31. The mosaic of the roof was of the richest material, crystal, precious stones, amber, mixed with *ἑλίνων χρυσούν*, or *μώσιον χρυσούν*. The figures have been woefully defaced

and whitewashed by the Turks, yet the four great cherubim that grace the spandrels of the mass-piers are still to be traced. I have already mentioned the mosaic, and therefore need here only quote the Silentiary.

πρὶν δὲ πολυμήτοιο σέλας ψηφίδος ἰκίσθαι
λεπτὰς λαοτόρος παλάμη λαίγγας ὑφαίνων
μαρμαρέας ἔγραψε μετὰ πλάκας ἐς μέσα τοίχων.

CHAPTER IV.

SECOND PERIOD OF BYZANTINE ART.

A.D. 537—1003.

Churches noticed in this chapter.

	PITZOUNDA.	ABKHASIA.
	TCHESSEMAV.	LYCIA.
	ANAKOPI.	GEORGIA.
FORTY MARTYRS.	NAKOLAKEVI.	GEORGIA.
	LADIKEYEH.	SYRIA.
S. SOPHIA.	NICOSIA.	CYPRUS.
S. JOB.	GUNNĀWAT.	SYRIA.
	BOZRA.	SYRIA.
	SOCEDA.	SYRIA.
	EZRA.	SYRIA.
S. CATHERINE.	MOUNT SINAI.	ARABIA.
	GAGRA.	ABKHASIA.
	PESTENEY.	HUNGARY.
	ATHENS (cathedral.)	GREECE.
S. SERGIUS.	CAIRO.	EGYPT.
HOLY CROSS.	ALAVEVERDE.	GEORGIA.
	GORTYNA.	CRETE.
	SILIVERI.	THRACE.
PANAGHIA.	PAREKIA.	ARCHIPELAGO.
GREAT PANAGHIA.	ATHENS.	GREECE.
	TCHAMKMODI.	GEORGIA.
	CHONA KOUBAN.	ARMENIA.
SS. ANDREW AND } MATTHEW.	ABGHOURI.	ARMENIA.

THE buildings of Justinian form, as it is well known, the subject of a work in six books by Procopius, the secretary of Belisarius. It is extremely useful to know the names of the cities in which the Emperor founded or refounded his innumerable churches, in order that, where they are still remaining, no doubt may exist as to their age. But in an ecclesiological point of view, the vague descriptions of the courtier are valueless: and a work, that might have been second to none in ritualistic interest, is barely more than a catalogue of names. Of S. Sophia alone he gives a detailed description: of some few of the Constantinopolitan churches he also speaks at intelligible length. In the following chapter I propose to describe a few of the more important churches of the epoch, which, having its rise in S. Sophia, lasted till the commencement of the eleventh century. But it will first be well to sum up in a few words, the characteristics* of this period.

In the first epoch, one central dome was the rule: though doubtless there were many cases in which a second or third were added. Now we find domes increasing in number and importance, elevating themselves, sometimes over the prothesis and diaconicon, sometimes over the extremity of the four arms of the cross, sometimes over the four angles of the square, sometimes to the north and south, sometimes to the middle, of the pronaos, sometimes occupying all these positions together. Semi-domes also, after the manner of S. Sophia, come into fashion.

Another very important innovation, not introduced from S. Sophia, and which appears earliest in Greece, is in the form of the dome. Hitherto its windows had not encroached upon the eaves; the latter ran round the cupola in a right line, and without any indentation. Now, however, the heads of the lights pierce the eaves, imparting thereby additional importance to the walls, and less consequence to the roof of the dome. The effect is sometimes perfectly exaggerated, as in the church of the *Asomatoi* at Athens. Many churches, however, of a still later epoch retain the original form: so that this feature cannot be considered a decisive criterion of

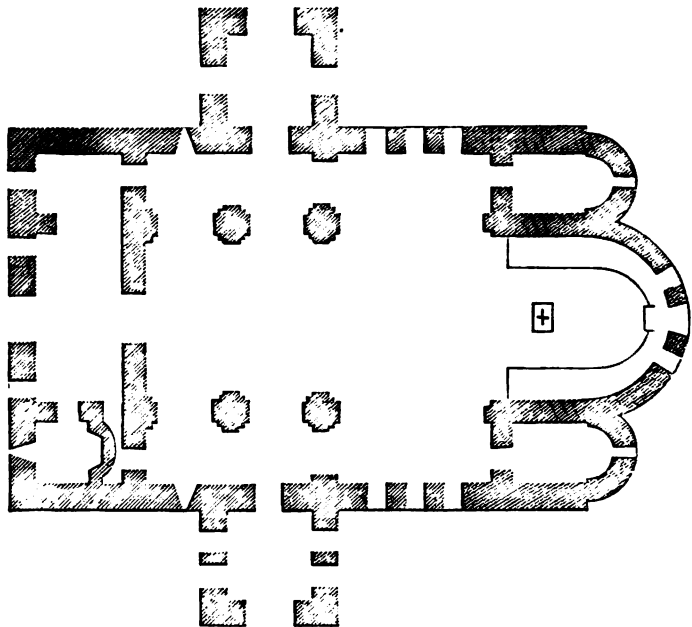
* Couchaud, *Introd.*, p. 4.

age: otherwise Mistra, in the Peloponnesus, a church of the third period, would be attributed to the first.

Windows are now frequently of two lights, often of three: sometimes under one arch, sometimes merely adjacent. They are almost universally arched in herring-bone fashion, though often in the richest materials.

Circular piers give way to square: the vaulting is usually plain waggon with broad latitudinal groins. In them frescoes were frequently adopted; for the rest of the church mosaic; and marble disappears.

The apses, which have hitherto been circular on the exterior, are now as generally polygonal.



GROUND-PLAN OF THE CATHEDRAL OF PITZOUNDA.

Of the churches built by Justinian at a distance from Constantinople, few are more magnificent than the cathedral of Pitzounda^b, in Georgia, formerly the seat of the Catholicos

^b The ground-plan is taken from Montpereux, i. 230. I am indebted

of Abkhasia. It is still very perfect in its ground-plan, and is about to undergo a thorough restoration at the expense of the Emperor of Russia. It is not known when it ceased to be the seat of a Patriarch; as late as 1738, in the chart compiled by the order of Alexander, King of Imeretia, it is called the Patriarchal church. The length of the choir is twenty-eight (French^c) feet: of the trapeza, thirty: of the bema, as much: the height of the four central arches, sixty; and their span thirty: the dome rises thirty-six feet above the arches. The apses are still circular: the synthronus is perfect: the walls are covered with frescoes; and the forms of Saints and Angels must have seemed to mingle among the Prelates who surrounded the throne of the Patriarch of Abkhasia. The northern and southern proaulia are prominent and remarkable. The narthex is clear and well defined; and is provided with a baptistery at its southern end. The church is mentioned by Procopius, in his work on the Gothic war^d; though not in that on the buildings of Justinian; and is by him ascribed to that Emperor. An inscription, however, attached to the building itself, and still legible, though in Georgian, is to this effect, "Remember, O LORD, Father Kyr Baouraph, servant of GOD: who built the church and cupola; and at his resurrection with other men, have pity on the Catholicos. 7." This date fixes the erection of the cathedral to 558; and the expression that it was erected by the Catholicos, may be explained to mean that he contributed largely to it, or set the design on foot, or perhaps gave the plan. The material of the walls is brick, which is disposed in patterns; of the foundations, unhewn stones: the extreme length of this church is about 115 feet.

The pronaos is of two stories^e, the upper part being now in ruins. The altar is composed of numerous broken pieces of marble, with the cross engraven on each, as if it had once been destroyed, and the pieces collected and put together. There is a tradition that S. Andrew was buried here.

To the same date I am disposed to refer the cathedral

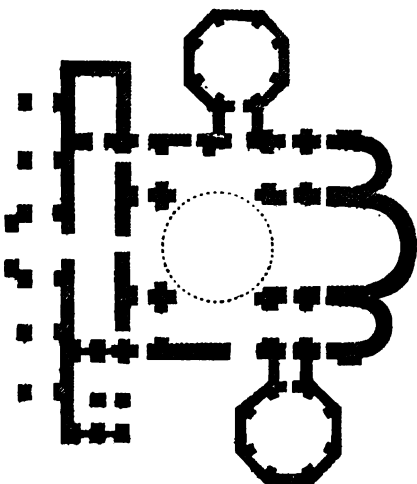
for some particulars to Spencer's Circassia, i. 288, and Mouravieff's Travels in Georgia.

to English feet as 1 to 1.066.

^d De Bell. Goth. ii. 471. Ed. Boun.

^e Mouravieff, Travels in Georgia,

^c These, it will be remembered, are iii. 300.



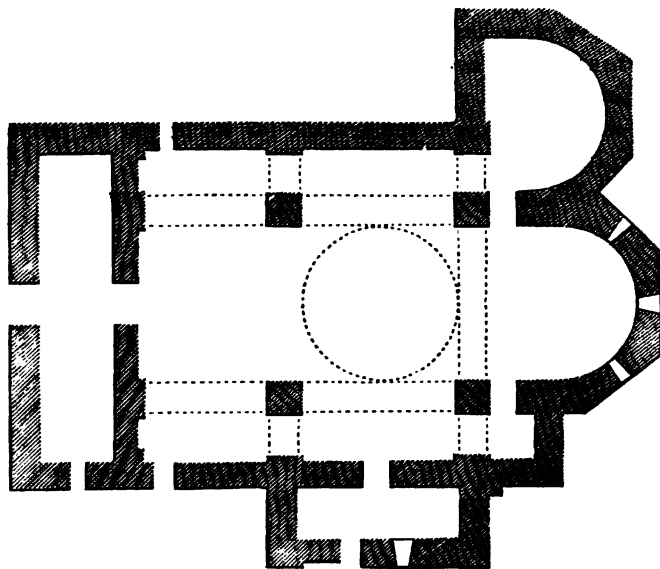
CATHEDRAL CHURCH OF TCHESEMAY.

church of Tchesemay, in Lycia : first described by Messrs. Spratt and Forbes, in their late tour in that country. It has long been disused : but is still a tolerably perfect ruin. It is situated in a most sequestered spot near the remains of the ancient Trabala, and the only difficulty connected with it is that of determining to what See it was attached. Trabala possessed none, nor did any episcopal city, so far as we know, occupy a situation near that of this building. It has been suggested that it might be the cathedral of Myra, and thus the metropolitical church of Lycia : and in this opinion, in spite of the unusual distance of the building from that city, I am inclined to agree. The octagonal erections north and south of the choir, deserve observation. One of these was probably the baptistery ; the other might have been connected with the provincial councils of Lycia ; or it may be possible that one was the baptistery for the men, the other for the women. We know that there were separate apartments for the two sexes ; and a casual expression of S. Ambrose would lead us to imagine that there were sometimes two actual baptisteries[†]. The enclosure at the north end of the narthex was probably the larger sacristy ; the erection at the south, the entrance to the women's gallery.

[†] *Symbolum aliquibus Competentibus in baptisteriis tradebam Ecclesiae.*

The most remarkable feature of this church is the extreme depth of the diaconicon and prothesis, each of which, it will be seen, has two entrances from the bema. The trapeza, on the contrary, almost disappears, but there is a large prosaulon.

ANAKOPI, or Nicopsis^c. This is a small building^h of rather uncertain date, but probably of the seventh century. It is of the usual Byzantine form, but has, doubtless in imitation of Pitzounda, a south porch. The thinness of the walls, constructed of Roman brick, and the alightness of the piers that support the central dome, are very remarkable.



PLAN OF THE CHURCH OF THE FORTY MARTYRS AT NAKOLAKEVI.

The church of the Forty Martyrsⁱ, at Nakolakevi, the ancient Archæopolis, and the Christian capital of the Lazi, and close to the city of the Argonauts, was rebuilt by Justinian from the ruins of an earlier church. It is undoubtedly that to

^c It reckoned as an Archbishoprick of Zichia, and in one netitia has the twenty-seventh place. Le Quien, Or. Chr. i. 1827.

^h Mouravieff, Georgia, iii. 296.

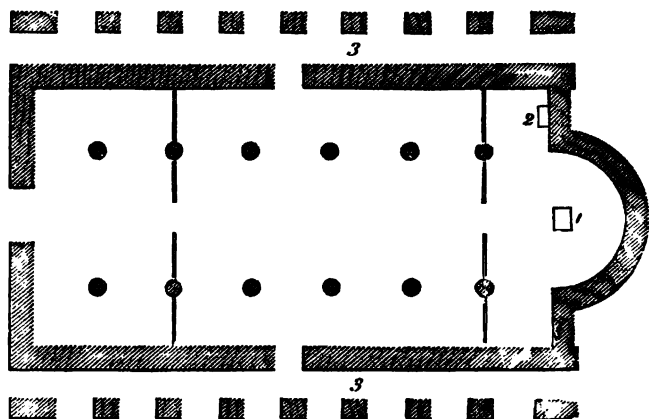
ⁱ Mouravieff, Georgia, iii. 260. The plan is from Dubois de Montpereux.

which Procopius refers¹. It stands alone towards the top of a hill, and in the midst of ruins, now overgrown with trees and underwood. It is remarkable for the projection of the prothesis to the north, and for its immense size; for the double instead of the triple apse; for the smallness of the diaconicon, and for the chapel of the Forty Martyrs, attached to the south side of the choir. Justinian gave some relics of the Martyrs of Sebaste to this church: and to commemorate them, forty stones are placed in the pavement of the chapel. The narthex has an entrance from the south, as well as from the west. Here we have the influence of the new fashion, the apses being polygonal.

Of other churches founded by Justinian, I may mention

LADIKEYEH, (Laodicea Libani,) near^k that place, on the road north. It is now quite perfect; but is desecrated as a mosque. The dome is remarkable for its height in proportion to its span.

S. Sophia, at NICOSIA, in Cyprus; now a mosque.



PLAN OF GUNNĀWAT, IN SYRIA.

But, although the forms that I have given above were those which chiefly prevailed in the reign of Justinian, it is

¹ Lib. iv. 7. de ædif. Justinian. "Sed et Christianorum apud Lazos ecclesiam vetustis et jam putribus ædificiis vix cohærentem, novam constru-

xit." I am obliged to quote from Craneveldius's translation, not having the original at hand.

^k Buckingham's Arab Tribes, 533.

certain that the basilican arrangement was by no means unknown. The annexed plan represents the church of GUNNĀWAT in Syria; now an entire ruin, but sufficiently perfect to be quite intelligible. Here there is but one apse: the piers are, after the old fashion, circular; the narthex was separated from the nave by a screen, marks of which still remain; a cloister runs north and south of the church, and over it, as well as over the narthex, is the women's gallery.

It is true we have no evidence that this church is of the time of Justinian, and it may be earlier; but in the same neighbourhood, namely, at Bosra, is a church on an exactly similar plan, and having, according to Buckingham¹, this inscription:

✠ ΕΠΘΕΛΕΚΦΙΛΟΤΗΙΑ ΙΟΡΘΑΟΣ
 ΙΛΕΩΝΙΟΥΣΤΙΝΙΑΝΟΥΚΑΙΘΕΟΔΩΡΑΣΩΚΟΔ
 ΗΡΙΟΣΟΙΚΥΣΤΟΝΑΤΙΟΥΚΑΙΛΑΘΛΟΦΥΡΟΥΙΩΒΙΚΑ
 ΕΠΙΤΟΥΡΟΣΙΩΤΑΤΟΥΚΑΛΑΤΙΩΤΟΥΛΟΧΙ

Making allowance for gross faults in transcription, and for natural decay, we shall read:

✠ ἐπὶ τῶν θεοφιλεστάτων καὶ ὀρθόδοξων βασ-
 ιλέων Ἰουστινιάνου καὶ Θεοδώρας ἑκδομένης ὁ
 ἁγίος οἶκος τοῦ ἁγίου καὶ ἀθλοφόρου Ἰωβ, καὶ
 ἐπὶ τοῦ ὀσιωτάτου καὶ ἀγιωτάτου Λοχι

which clearly proves the church one of Justinian's. It may be observed that the land of Job was sufficiently near this church to make its dedication appropriate.

To the same epoch I refer the church of ΣΟΚΕΔΑ, in the same neighbourhood. Though the place was always obscure, the building must have been one of the largest in the East. The form is strictly basilican; it is a hundred yards in length, by fifty in breadth, and is very highly ornamented. There were eight windows on each side; the apse is still clearly distinguishable; as also are the traces of the screen which separated the narthex from the nave.

¹ Arab Tribes, 202.

Of the same kind, and probably the same date, is the church of Mar Elias at ESRA. Over the great southern door is an inscription, where still may be read, σπουδῇ ἰωάννου . . . ἐπὶ σαυελίου ἀρουθέων ἐπισκόπου, where perhaps we may correct ἀρουθέων into ἀρεθουσέων, Arethusa being an Episcopal See under the Metropolitan of Apamæa.

Another and very celebrated church of Justinian, is that of the monastery of S. Catherine, on Mount Sinai. It is still in an excellent state of preservation, and used by the brethren. An inscription remains to testify that it is the work of Justinian and Theodora; and Procopius also alludes to it. There are double aisles. The roof is a mass of mosaic. In the centre of this roof the relics of S. Catherine are preserved; the mosaics around represent Moses by the burning bush, the Emperor and Empress, and our Blessed Lord's Transfiguration^m.

EXTERIOR VIEW. A parallelogram in form, with a rather high-pitched roof, and at one end a square tower, with a gallery near the top: a row of small windows (like a clerestory) on the side of the church.

INTERIOR VIEW. A vast basilica, shewing six or seven round arches on each side, springing from bold monolithic cylindrical columns, with capitals of a rich but very corrupt kind, and deeply-moulded arches. In the spandrels between every arch a crowned shield, in relief. Clerestory: a series of windows not over the *crown of each arch*, but over the column: no string-course: but the windows now filled with Pointed (?) tracery: two-foils with circle above, and internal hoods. Roof: flat, wooden, basilican, shewing heavy ties, and painted panelling between. A noble, deeply-moulded arch is seen at the eastern extremity, above the iconostasis. The iconostasis (apparently of Renaissance date) having two huge icons on each side of the doors, and above a row of twenty-three or twenty-four small icon-heads, and a huge floriated rood above, (of early Byzantine date, in

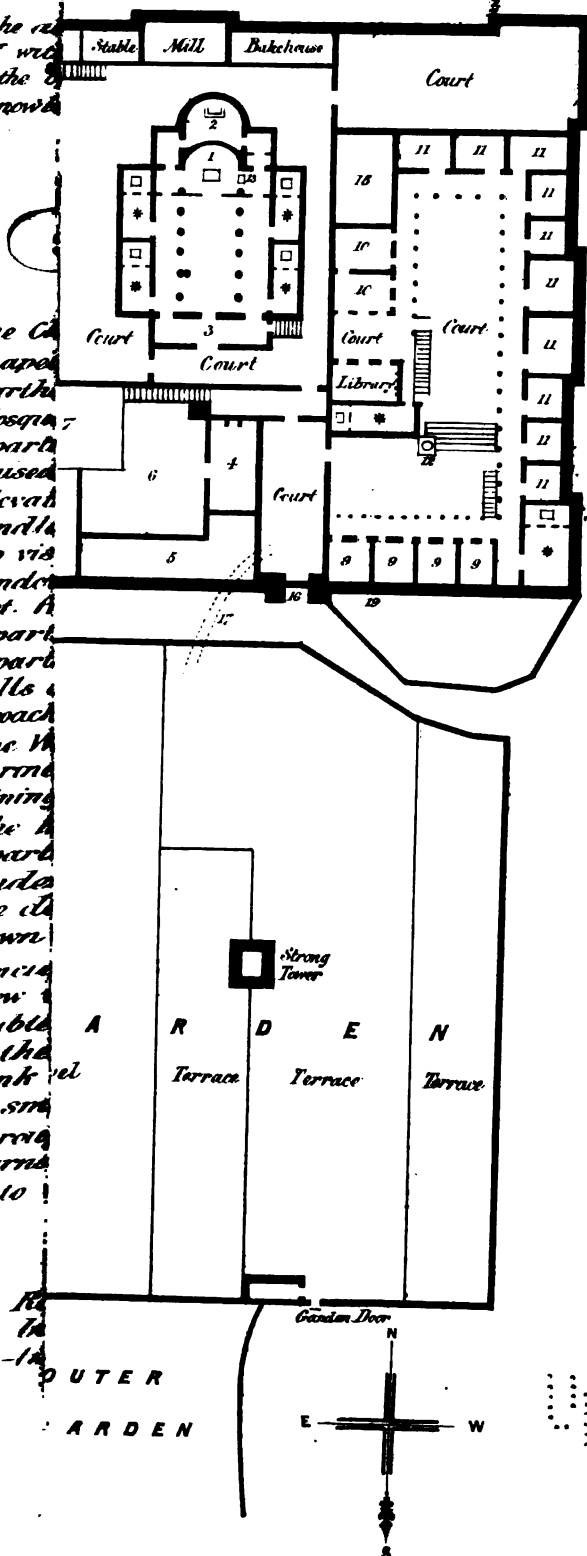
^m The Voyage en Arabie Petrie of MM. Leon and Laborde, Roberts's Sketches of the Holy Land, pl. 18, and Wellsted's Arabia, ii. 95, give the best

account of this church, besides what may be gleaned from Pococke, Tischendorf, and others.

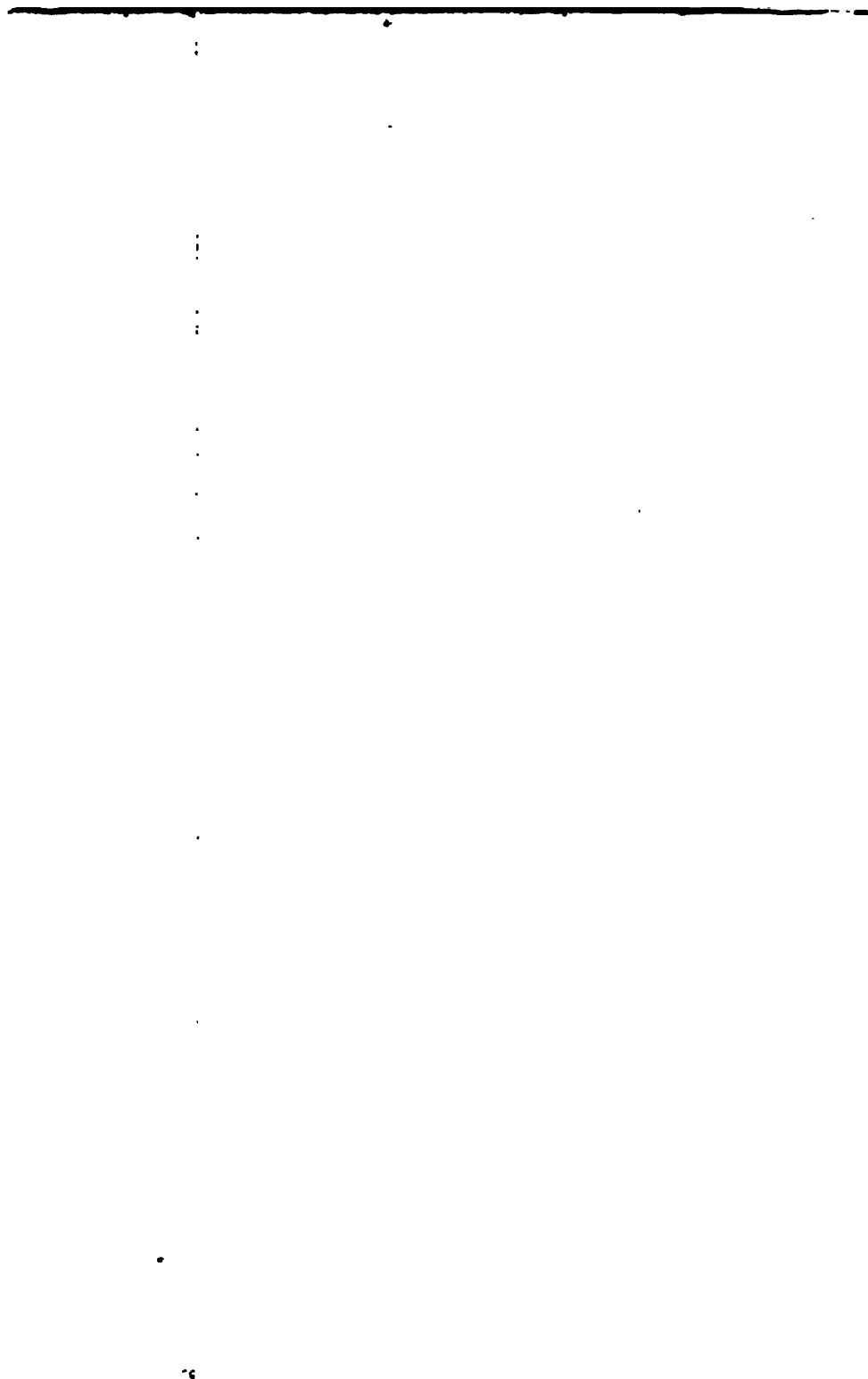
Level ground — ground rises steeply —

"Since the
Gurson Jun." with
account of the
-nity of acknowl

1. The Ca
2. Chapel
3. North
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- into



Jebel Moussa, the Mountain of Moses, rises here.



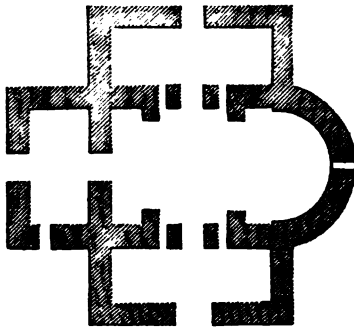
Renaissance setting,) stretches across the nave at three arches from the east end, thus making an unconstructional sanctuary. There is no soleas at all: but the length of three arches more on each side is taken up for a choir, there being a single row of Renaissance *stalls*, with elbows, backs, &c., on each side. Apparently no screen, or even step, divides choir from nave. On north side, above the middle of stalls, an ambon (desk resting on an eagle) of Renaissance woodwork, with a *Pointed* stem; opposite to this, in the middle of south stalls, a lofty canopied throne for Patriarch, all in bad Renaissance. North-east of the choir a kind of baldachin, or ciborium, apparently for the exhibition of a cross and icons.

Apparently a row of small round-headed lights in the south aisle wall.

Floor: of variegated marble, in patterns.

GENERAL EFFECT. A Latin basilica, with later Greek incongruous fittings, and modern ornaments of about an equal mixture of Latin and Greek Renaissance.

One chrism cross shewn on one pillar.



PLAN OF GAGRA.

The church of GAGRA, in Abkhasia^a, was founded about the year 600. Its plan at first sight appears extraordinary, but it is quickly simplified by the observation, that if the narthex

^a The plan is from Dubois de Montpéreux.

were prolonged north and south to the exterior side walls, the arrangement would present nothing very singular. It may be, however, noticed, that the prothesis and diaconicon are not apsidal; and that there are passages on the opposite side of the transepts, corresponding to those from the bema to the north and south chapels.

To this period also may be referred the very curious Wal-lack church at PESTENY^o, in Hungary. The building is evidently constructed out of the ruins of a Roman temple: the massy central pillars support semicircular arches, on which rises a small dome.

No very decided change seems to have taken place for many years after the death of Justinian. And indeed his passion for church building rendered it difficult for his immediate successors to signalize themselves in the same way.

The Metropolitan church of ATHENS^p, disused in 1827, and converted into a public library, though now again restored, is not Justinianic, though apparently of the early part of the seventh, if not of the end of the sixth century. It is of the smallest possible dimensions, though rather elaborately ornamented; the windows are of marble. Here every thing speaks of the firm settlement of the second period of Byzantine Art: the one polygonal apse, and the square piers.

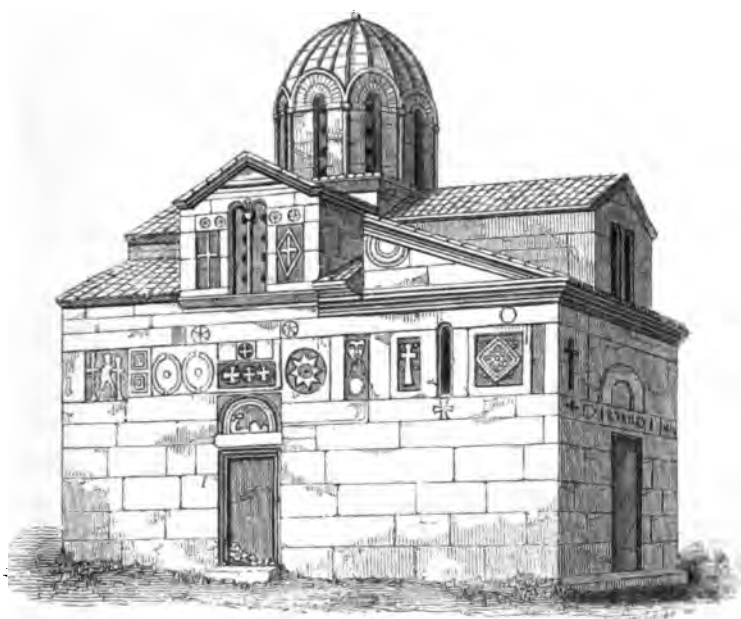
The church of S. SERGIUS, not far from CAIRO, in a chapel of which a stone is shewn where the Holy Family are reported to have rested, appears to belong to this date. It is now served both by Greeks and Copts.

The Metropolitan church of GORTYNA, in Crete, ruins of which still remain, may be referred to about the year 810^q. It was built by a certain Cyril, Archbishop of that See. Now S. Cyril I. of Gortyna suffered martyrdom in the Decian persecution, and therefore is out of the question. S. Cyril II. occupied that throne when the Saracens conquered the island for the first time, A.D. 823, when he also obtained the Martyr's crown, as we learn from Cedrenus. Since that time there have been no Prelates of that name, and therefore to Cyril II. must the work be referred.

^o Paget's Hungary, ii. 51.

^p Couchaud, pl. 1.

^q Tournefort i. 54.



METROPOLITICAL CHURCH AT ATHENS



PROCONION OF SAMARI (See page 216)

At SILIVRI, the ancient Selymbria[†], the cathedral church was built by the Empress Theodora, as an inscription sets forth. Now the manner in which the name is spelt, namely, *Θεοδόρα*, proves that the wife of Theophilus and mother of Michael III. is intended, that being the orthography which she always adopted. We may therefore fix the date of this church at about 840. Its erection may possibly have had some influence in elevating Silivri to the rank of an Archbishoprick, an arrangement which took place in 879.

The cathedral church of the Holy Cross, ALAVERDE, Georgia. I have no ground-plan nor view of this church. M. Mouravieff's description, however, will be read with interest^{*}.

"The lofty tower of this cathedral is visible at a considerable distance. It was formerly fortified with round bastions and a thick wall, which last is still standing. Lofty gates on the western side lead to the court-yard of the monastery. From that point only can the lightness of its architecture, which is entirely in the Georgian style, with the most regular and pleasing proportions, be appreciated. A round-tower, with conical head and long windows, rises 224 feet, yet from its lightness does not appear at all out of proportion to the body of the structure. The latter is 189 feet in length, and half as much in breadth. The pointed ridges of the roof, the cornices, the slight recesses (i. e. niches) in the walls, and richly decorated crosses, all stamp Alaverde with the decided characteristics of its native architecture. The entrance is by a proaulion. It is much to be regretted that twelve small side chapels, built against the outside wall of the church, which gave the whole building the appearance of a pyramid, were destroyed at the beginning of the present century.

"Cyricus, the Lord of Kakhetia, the founder of Telaff, constructed at the close of the ninth century this magnificent cathedral, in the same form as it now exists, on the site of a former church, under the invocation of S. George. That church had been founded here, together with a Bishop's See, as early as the fifth century, by S. Joseph, one of the Syrian Fathers. A violent earthquake, in 1530, overturned

[†] Walsh's Journey from Constantinople, 122.

^{*} Travels in Armenia and Georgia, i. 156.

the tower, and it was restored by King Leo. It fell again towards the middle of the last century, and was again rebuilt by Tamar, the consort of Teimuraz II., not with stone, but imperishable timber.

"On entering the church the visitor will still more admire the regularity of the whole building, and the lightness of its dome, and the six massive pillars on which it rests. On the north-western side of the central mass-piers is a monument of the founder, Bishop Joseph.

"The bema has parabemata; where the diaconicon now stands was once a side Altar; the high Altar was originally under the invocation of S. George, but after that King Leo had brought the life-giving Cross from Jerusalem, and great crowds attended the festival of the Elevation of the Cross, the Metropolitan Jonas built a side Altar to S. George, and dedicated the whole church to the Holy Cross.

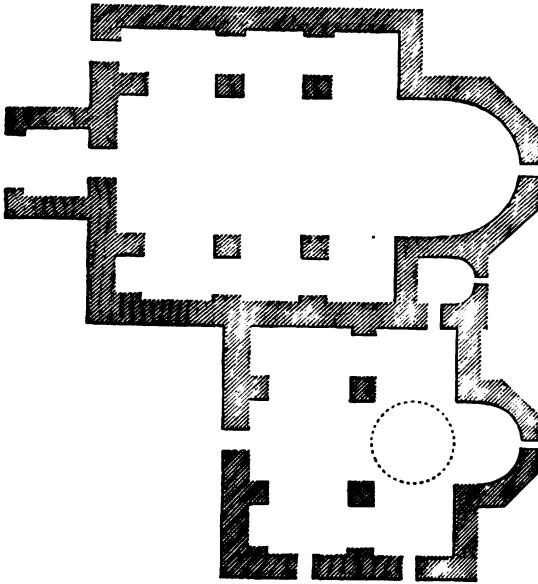
"The iconostasis, given by Heraclius of Georgia, is beautiful; it has four ancient icons, two at full length of S. George, and two smaller ones placed over them of the Mother of God. S. George is represented fully armed, with his hands lifted up to heaven, on foot, as he was in ancient times, because the introduction of a horse into an icon was unsuitable. Here repose the remains of the Martyr-Queen S. Keteban."

The church of the Panaghia, at ΠΑΡΑΚΙΑ, in Paros, the seat of the Metropolitan of Paronaxia, was founded in A.D. 902. It is the largest church in the Archipelago, except that of Syra.

To some period of the tenth century is to be ascribed the now buried church of the GREAT PANAGHIA, at Athens, of which the dome only rises above the ground, though entrance may be had through it to the body of the building.

The following, which partakes somewhat of the Armenian character, is the cathedral and metropolitan church of TCHAMKMODI[†], the See of the Bishop of Gouriel, and the burying-place of the monarchs of that kingdom. It consists of two distinct churches; that to the south was erected by Maximus, Catholicos of Abkhasia, in the tenth century. In its original state it was clearly a copy from that of Nakolakevi, which I have before noticed. As there, the prothesis

[†] The plan and elevation are from Dubois de Montpereux, as is Chona-Kouban.

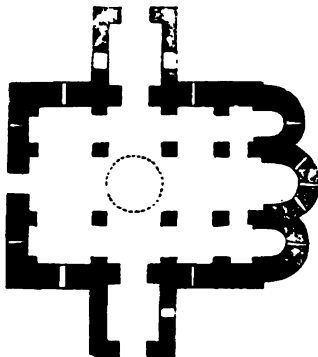


GROUND-PLAN AND VIEW OF THE CHURCH OF TOHAMKMODI.

extended beyond the northern line of walls, and there is no corresponding diaconicon. The central pillars support a tower, capped with a flat pyramidal head.

The other church has no dome nor tower; the narthex, as in the first, is very indistinctly marked, but there is a western

porch. The prothesis and diaconicon are divided from the choir by an iconostasis of copper gilt. The lych-gate, originally a tower, with the bells on a frame, is also very remarkable.



CHURCH OF CHONA-KOUBAN

CHONA-KOUBAN, in Armenia, is of the tenth century. It is a very close imitation of Pitzounda; the apses remain, as in the former church, circular; the north and south porches are copied from it; the narthex has, however, lost its importance, and the dome is thrown one bay to the west.

The church of SS. Andrew and Matthew, at ARGHOURI, in Armenia, which is supposed to be built on the site of the vineyard that Noah planted, and of which the name signifies as much, (*argh*, he planted, *ouri*, a vine,) though in the midst of another style, is purely Byzantine in its arrangements, except that it has the niched apse. It has prothesis and diaconicon, rather longer than usual from east to west, and without any passage from them to the bema; two massy piers in the nave, which, with the parabemata, support the dome; a door north and south, to the east of these piers; single lights to the three apses, and one north and south of the nave, but no formed narthex. The date is about A.D. 950.

The Altar stands on the place where "Noah built an Altar unto the LORD." This church no longer exists, having been overwhelmed in the partial fall of Ararat, June 24, 1840.

CHAPTER V.

THIRD PERIOD OF BYZANTINE ARCHITECTURE.

A.D. 1003—1453.

Churches noticed.

S. SAVIOUR.	CATHEDRAL OF OUTAIS.	GEORGIA.
S. SOPHIA.	CATHEDRAL OF CHERNIGOFF.	RUSSIA.
S. SOPHIA.	CATHEDRAL OF KIEFF.	RUSSIA.
S.	CATHEDRAL OF NOVOGOROD.	RUSSIA.
S.	DIGHOUR.	ARMENIA.
S.	NICÆA.	BITHYNIA.
S. THEODORE.	ATHENS.	ATTICA.
S.	CATHEDRAL OF GELATH.	ABKHASIA.
S. NICODEMUS.	ATHENS.	ATTICA.
S.	KAPNICAREA.	ATTICA.
S. TAXIARCHUS.	ATHENS.	ATTICA.
S.	DAPHNI.	ATTICA.
S. BARLAAM.	METEORA.	THESSALY.
S. JOHN.	ATHENS.	ATTICA.
S.	ARTA.	AMBRACIA.
S.	ANI.	ARMENIA.
S. MARK.	CATHEDRAL OF ALEXANDRIA.	EGYPT.
S. MARY.	MISTRA.	PELOPONNESUS.
S. SOPHIA.	CATHEDRAL OF TREBIZOND.	PONTUS.
S.	STUDENTITZA.	} SERBIA.
S.	ZHITCHKA GHCHA.	
S.	KRUSKEVITZ.	
S.	RAVENITZA.	

MANY circumstances combined to render the eleventh century one of Ecclesiological developement to Byzantine architecture. A grand national impulse had been given by the victories of Nicephorus Phocas and John Zimisces. Cilicia and Antioch had been re-vindicated to the Cross; the whole of Asia Minor had yielded, if but temporarily, to the reviving majesty of the empire; Bagdad itself had trembled under the rule of the impotent Caliphs. With the rallying energies of a people Art will also of necessity revive; the unwonted success of Byzantine arms, the internal vitality of an empire which had yet five centuries of existence, the security from foreign attacks, and the treasures of conquered nations, these things combined to render the close of the tenth century an epoch favourable for the promotion of art, and the developement of genius. During the preceding century literature had flourished; the exertions of the Cæsar Bardas, of Leo the Philosopher, and of Constantine Porphyrogenitus, had been partially crowned with success; while the Church had received an impulse from that wonderful man, the Patriarch Photius, which she was resolved to maintain. The conversion of Russia excited to their utmost efforts the architects of Constantinople; for S. Vladimir and Dobrina, Yaroslaff and Mistislaff, looked for their art as well as for their religion from the imperial city, and in their rising cathedrals imitated the form, and adopted the name, of the Ecumenical Church. Georgia, too, as we shall see, recovering from foreign oppression, needed her spiritual mother's art as well as assistance; and, at the very time when the call on Constantinople was loudest, she received an infusion of new life from the West. The conquest, first of Apulia and Calabria, then of Sicily, brought Constantinople into more immediate contact with Europe, and the Normans, whether as allies or enemies, infused vigour of conception and boldness of design into the worn-out mind of the East. Perhaps also the discovery that the fatal year 1000 had passed, without bringing the end of the world, infused new life into the architects, as of the West, so of the East.

To fix a date, for the commencement of the furthest developement of Byzantine art, cannot be done with accuracy.

The infusion of life was gradual, its consequences still more gradual. Still, as some epoch must be named, none can perhaps be more appropriate than 1008, the date of the foundation of that wonderful cathedral of which I shall presently speak. At that time Basil II. and Constantine IX. were in the middle of their long and peaceful reign, while Sergius II. was at the commencement of his protracted tenure of the Œcumenical Throne. The conclusion of the period will be fixed at the fall of Constantinople, which involved Church art and State rule in one common ruin.

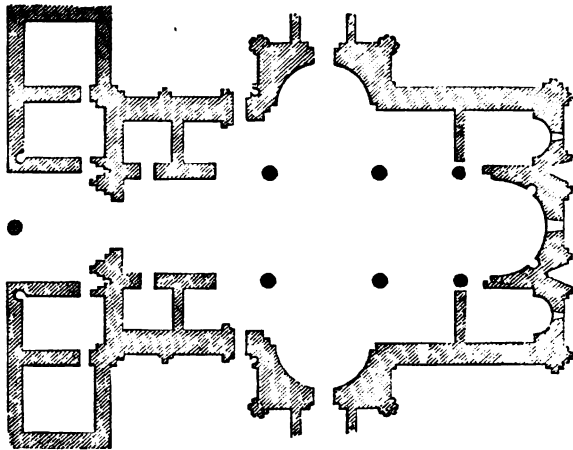
Latin influence, moreover, acted with fitful but rapidly increasing energy; was ever present in Calabria, Apulia, and Sicily; forced itself, with the Venetians, over the whole of Greece; absolutely, for eighty years, became sovereign master of the imperial city; and retained to the last, by its colony of Galata, no small power beside the very throne of the Cæsars.

It must also be borne in mind that, spreading over many peoples, unconnected save by the one tie of the Church, nations in different stages of civilization, from the vigorous energy of the Russian savage, to the effete movements of Byzantine refinement, the present developement of art was extremely irregular in its effects and partial in its spread. The West acted most powerfully on the arts and architecture of Greece; stimulated, at a later period, the independent Servians to the highest pitch that Byzantine art has attained; exercised some degree of influence on the widely-spread provinces of Russia; but was in the outset scarcely at all felt at Constantinople, and in the farther East was utterly unknown.

The grand characteristics of the period may be summed up as follows:

Some approximation to Latin arrangement is discoverable. The narthex loses its importance, the naos is lengthened, the choir assumes more prominence, the women's galleries disappear, the aisles become substantial parts of the church, and, by consequence, the cross assumes a less defined position. Buttresses are adopted with greater freedom; string-courses are not unusual. In ornaments, though not in general idea,

this style bears to the preceding the same that our Third does to our Middle Pointed. Enrichment is subdivided and multiplied, gorgeousness succeeds to chaste beauty. In some instances pinnacles are adopted; arcading is very frequent. Frescoes entirely exclude mosaic, and by their multiplication give, in some instances, the effect of that marble which mosaic had supplanted. The windows, in the marble with which they are filled, diminish as to size, but multiply as to number, the apertures. Doors, especially, became richer. The roofs are for the most part waggon-vaulted. The domes, in the earlier part of this epoch, sprang from polygonal towers; afterwards the substructure became circular or square.



GROUND-PLAN OF THE CATHEDRAL OF CUTAIS

The cathedral of CUTAIS* first claims our notice. This, with the single exception of S. Sophia, was perhaps the most successful effort of Byzantine art, till its Servian developement. It was, however, begun by Georgian architects, a fact which undoubtedly influenced its plan, for we find the adoption of the Armenian niched apse, which here attains its most perfect form: and the anti-parabemata, and the apsidal transepts.

It has prothesis and diaconicon. The dome piers are octagonal, and enriched with capitals not unlike those of English

* M. Dubois de Montpereux has given some magnificent plans and elevations of his edifice.

Romanesque. The dome should rather be described as a circular tower with spire, another proof of Armenian influence. The narthex is flanked by two towers, like S. Sophia at Kieff and like many Western Romanesque examples, as Laach, Liège, S. Bartholomew, &c., and both the royal and the beautiful gates are pointed, though undoubtedly of the same date as the rest of the building. The whole church is arcaded in the exterior with narrow, tall, circular-headed arches, thereby shewing its Georgian relationship.

This cathedral was begun in 1003 by Bagration III., King of Georgia, who intended it for a masterpiece of art and decoration. On his death, however, it was not very far advanced; and his son, Bagration IV., who had married a daughter of Romanus Argyus, Emperor of Constantinople, applied to his father-in-law for architects capable of accomplishing the work. His request was granted, and the same Emperor, as we shall directly see, supplied the architects for S. Sophia at Kieff. This accounts for the striking similarity between the two churches.

The cathedral of S. SAVIOUR at CHERNIGOFF is the most ancient in Russia. It is, speaking generally, an imitation of S. Sophia at Constantinople. But I have not been able to procure any particular account of it at present; though I shall perhaps be enabled to give it in the Appendix.

The cathedral of S. SOPHIA^b at KIEFF, begun by Yaroslav Vladimirich in 1037, and completed in 1039, was on the model of the great S. Sophia, though it has been subjected to several alterations. Thus it has been widened by the addition of two parecclesia, the diaconicon has been changed into a chapel of SS. Joachim and Anna, and three chapels have been admitted, respectively named, on the one side, from S. Michael, the Fathers of the Pechersky Laura, and the Assumption; on the other, from 1. SS. Alexis, Jonah, and Philip, of Moscow, 2. S. Vladimir, 3. the Annunciation. The parecclesia were added by the Metropolitan Peter Mogila in the seventeenth century. At the east end is a gigantic mosaic of the Mother of God. The interior of the bema is in like manner decorated with

^b This account is derived from M. Mouravieff's "Visit to the Holy Places of Russia," and from other Russian sources.

a representation of the Last Supper, surrounded by the Greek legend, "Take, eat," &c. The Altar itself is made of cypress wood, after the proportions of our Lord's tomb. The only ancient frescoes in Russia were lately discovered, under five coats of whitewash, on the western and side walls. The architects for S. Sophia of Kieff were furnished by Romanus Argyrus, who supplied those for the completion of the cathedral of Cutais. At the present time there are fifteen domes to this building.

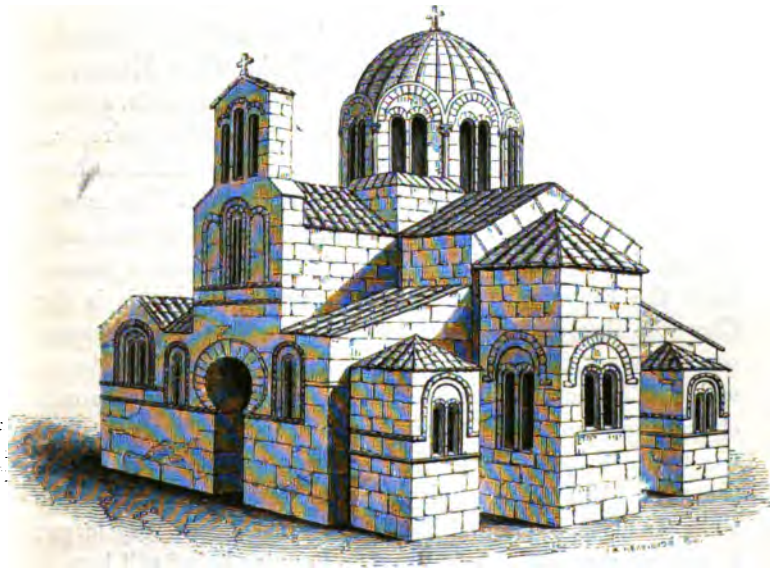
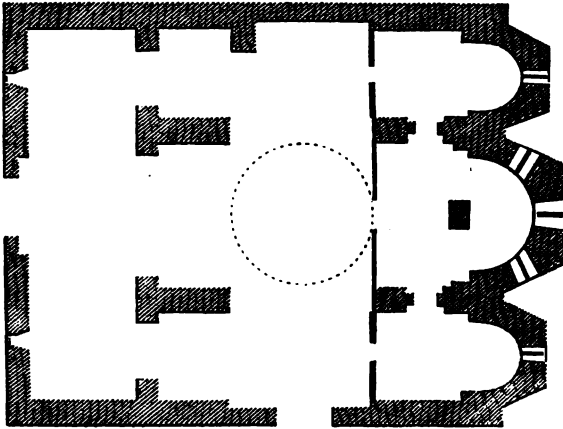
The cathedral of S. Sophia at Novogorod was begun in 1045, and consecrated in 1052. I reserve an account of this church for the Appendix, because I have been promised a ground-plan and drawings of it from Russia, which have not yet reached me, but which I hope to be able to give in that place.

The church of DICHOUR, though in Armenia, is to all intents and purposes of the Byzantine family. The dome rests on central mass-piers; the bema has no passages to the prothesis and diaconicon. The most remarkable feature in this building is the protrusion of the two latter chapels, and the niche formed on the exterior west side. This has no practical use: nor, as it would seem, any symbolical meaning: I think it a mere determination to Armenianize in the matter of the niche. The western façade is remarkably broad: there is a couplet in the gable: at the west end of, if we may so call them, the aisles, are single lights. All the western buttresses are of two stages: most exactly resembling those of First Pointed date in England. Over the three doors is an entablature supported by quasi-Corinthian pillars, an arrangement which seems to have given great satisfaction to the architect, as he has repeated it in the bays opposite the western mass-piers, where there are no doors. The other buttresses are semicircular pilasters, not unlike some Romanesque examples in England. A ground-plan of this church has been given at p. 229^c.

The principal church at NICÆA seems of the twelfth century. It is polygonal triapsidal. At the east end of the bema is a large fresco of the Mother of God and the Divine

^c The ground-plan is from M. Texier's *Asie Mineure*, pl. 25.

Infant : in the narthex, of the former, surrounded by angels with banners, inscribed with the words, ἅγιος, ἅγιος, ἅγιος. Round the church is the inscription, Κύριε, βοήθει τῷ σῷ δούλῳ Νικηφόρῳ πατρικίῳ, πραιποσίτῳ βεστιαρίῳ, καὶ μεγάλῳ ἑταιράριχῳ.



PLAN AND VIEW OF S THEODORE AT ATHENS.

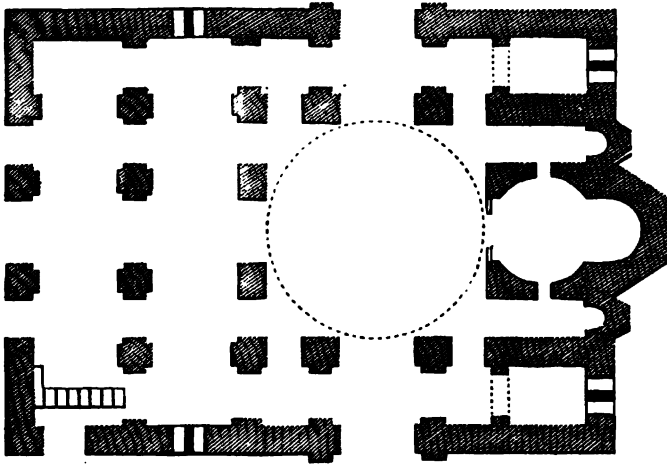
The church of S. THEODORE at ATHENS^d is a very good and pure Greek example of this period. The only thing which is particularly striking in the ground-plan is the diminished importance of the narthex; still, it is true, clearly defined, but rather marked than divided from the nave. And we shall find that this feature will increase with the advance of the style; the narthex becomes gradually less and less clearly defined, till at length it, as we have said, almost ceases to exist. This is one of the best preserved churches in Athens, though the frescoes have been covered with whitewash.

GELATH, in Abkhasia. The monastery^e is built at the summit of a steep hill, and the Catholici of Abkhasia, when, menaced by the Turks, they transferred their See, about the middle of the seventeenth century, from Pitzounda to Cutais, removed their most holy treasures to Gelath, which became their favourite residence. After the abolition of the Catholici the cathedral remained the See of an Archbishop till 1820.

Within the precincts of the monastery are three churches standing one after another in a straight line from east to west. The central of them, which is the cathedral, is under the invocation of the Assumption of the Holy Mother of God. It is a Georgianized imitation of Pitzounda, substituting for the dome the circular tower and conical spire, but retaining the north and south porches. Later additions have much injured it. The narthex is a mere lean-to. The length of the naos is 77 feet. The iconostasis is of stone, and low; above it is an icon of the Mother of God in mosaic, a present from the Emperor Alexius Comnenus; around this is the Cherubic Hymn. On the mass-piers are four colossal representations, of S. John Baptist, of S. Zacharias, of S. Anna, and S. Elizabeth; there are also four Stylitæ. In a south chapel the Illustrious Queen Tamar reposes. This cathedral was founded by S. David the Restorer, and therefore about the year 1100. The choir is here placed against the side walls, as at S. Sophia of Kieff. The masonry is very large: one stone measures 14 feet by 7. Popular belief will have it that it was laid by S. David himself.

The ground-plan is from Couchaud, pl. 8. ^e Mouravieff's Armenia, &c., ii. 171.

To the east of the cathedral lies S. George, a church of very great antiquity; to the west S. Nicolas, partly in ruins. I regret that I have no account of them.

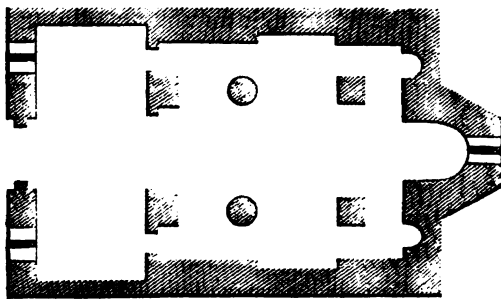


GROUND-PLAN OF S. NICODEMUS AT ATHENS

S. NICODEMUS, at ATHENS, is an elaborate but rather early example of the third Byzantine style. Besides bema, prothesis, diaconicon, central dome, well-developed trapeza, and narthex, it has lateral aisles. The bema is exteriorly polygonal, as are also the prothesis and diaconicon, which are however very small, and have much less projection. The iconostasis extends only across the bema. The aisles are divided by walls from the parabemata, and by four square piers from the naos; at their east end they form parecclesia. The trapeza is divided both from the choir and from the narthex by four piers. The gynæconitis extends over the narthex and the aisles, while the dome, which is parabematic, rests on six additional piers. The east window is of three lights: the parabemata have each but one: the parecclesia have windows of two lights. The north and south gables of the cross have sunk faces between two buttresses, in which, over a door with a kind of billet moulding round the arch, is a window of two lights, the space between it and the external arch of construction being awkwardly filled up by a similar

but smaller window. Each aisle is lighted but with one window, and that towards the west end; it has two lights, under one arch, a circle being sunk in the tympanum; the gallery has two windows of two lights, not under one arch. The narthex is entered by three doors from the west, and one respectively from the north and south; the narthex gallery is lighted by one awkward light at each end. The dome has twenty lights: it is of the second style, as the windows do not infringe on the eave lines.

The monastery-church of KAPNICAREA', near Athens, resembles that of S. Theodore, but is lighter and more elegant. The dome, however, is not parabematic, but rests on four slender circular shafts. The narthex is scarcely defined from the nave. In this instance the iconostasis does not join the end of the walls that form the parabemata, but is disengaged, and stands more to the west. The dome has eight faces, each containing a single light, the heads being peculiarly rich. There is a barbarous parecclesion on the north side, and a proaulion of the same late date.



GROUND-PLAN OF THE CHURCH OF S. TAXIARCHUS AT ATHENS.

The church of S. TAXIARCHUS, (S. Michael,) at Athens, is a very small building, but elegant, and thoroughly Byzantine. The central apse is polygonal apsidal; those at the side semi-circular interiorly, but do not project. The dome is parabematic, resting, towards the west, on two circular piers. The narthex is rather broader than the trapeza, from which it is divided by two immense mass-piers; the central dome is very

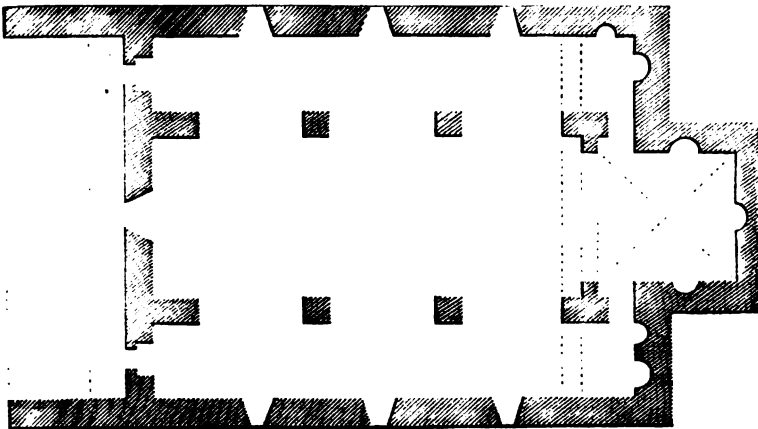
¹ Couchaud, pl. 15.

slim, octagonal at the sides, and chamfered off from a lower square. Over the narthex is a square, flatly gabled tower, ending in a very low dome. The windows are of two lights, but plain; the western door, for the narthex has but one, has a slightly horse-shoe head.

The church of S. GEORGE, in AMORGOS, is to be referred to this period. It is but fifteen feet long, by ten wide: the S. Lawrence of the Archipelago.

The ground-plan of the monastery-church at DAPHNI has been given at p. 183. The dome is singularly low and venerable; the lower part is circular; the sides rest on semicircular buttress pilasters. The windows are, for the most part, unequal triplets under one head. Between the two northern parecclesia rises a square tower with a low dome, placed on its summit.

The church of ALL SAINTS, in the monastery of S. BARLAAM, on the heights of Meteora, seems of this date. The dome rests on four circular piers, between which runs the screen that divides choir and trapeza.

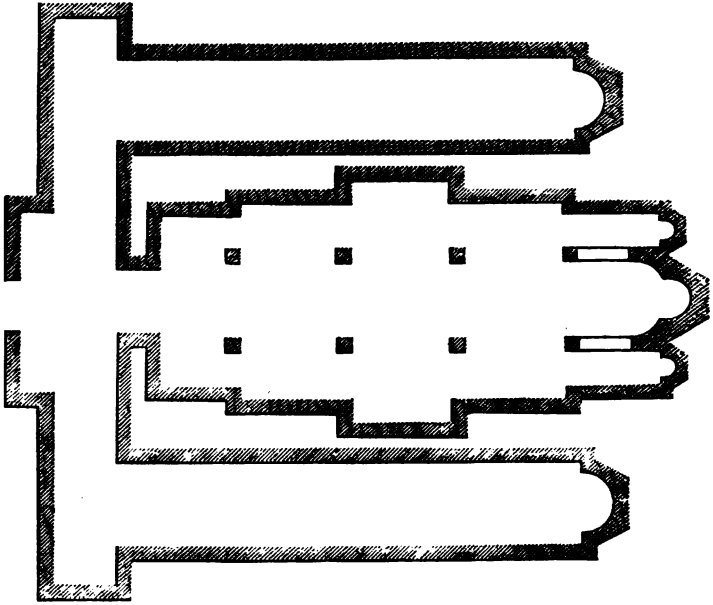


GROUND PLAN OF THE CHURCH OF S. JOHN AT ATHENS.

The church of S. JOHN at ATHENS^s is evidently constructed on a Latin type. The east end, square both inside and out is excessively rare: while the arrangement of diaconicon and

^s The ground-plan is from Couchaud, pl. 6.

prothesis, so far to the west, is awkward, and an adaptation not originally derived from the Eastern rite. The narthex is scarcely separated from the trapeza, while the proaulion is very prominent, and does not, as is usually the case, present a series of arches on the west.



GROUND-PLAN OF A CHURCH AT ARTA, IN AMBRACIA.

The above extraordinary ground-plan, of which I can only vouch for a rough resemblance to the original, represents a church at ARTA in Ambracia. It seems here that Latin architects were building on a Greek idea, and at the same time misinterpreting it. We have bema, prothesis, and diaconicon, as usual: excessively prolonged naos, evidently intended by the architect as the choir: instead of the silver gates, a narrow isthmus, opening into the narthex, which narthex is by the architect clearly thought to be the nave, and so made to be separately connected with two long and attenuated parecclesia.

In ANI^h, once the capital of Armenia, is a church which forms a curious link between Byzantine and Armenian, but

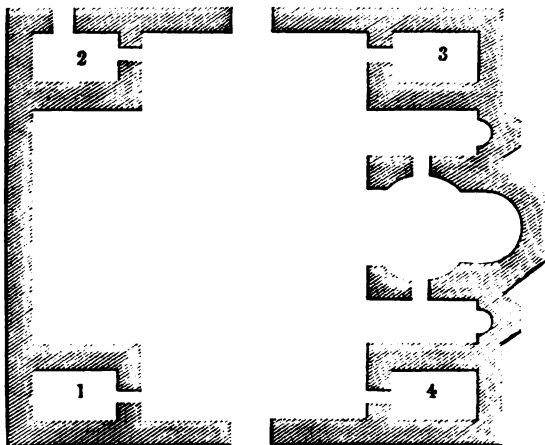
^h Texier, pl. 18, 21, 23. Mouravieff, ii. 17.

rather allies itself to the former: while the cathedral in the same place, also a connecting link, claims greater affinity with the latter. The church in question was built by the Georgians, to whom the city then belonged, in 1251. It consists of bema, prothesis, diaconicon, naos, narthex, and double proaulion. It resembles Byzantine structures in the absence of the north-west and south-west chapels which characterize purely Armenian churches, in the formed narthex, and in the proaulion: it resembles Armenian in the flat east end, (the bema being apsidal only in the interior, and the prothesis and diaconicon not apsidal;) in having no piers, there being no west doors to the parabemata; in having two quasi-niches at each façade of the church, which serve no constructive use, and are evidently merely left because an instinctive feeling argued for them; and finally, in the round central tower and conical spire. This church is arcaded in circular-headed arches all round; the tower has ten such; the arches themselves are richly worked, and in the middle of the spring of those in the tower is a rosette. The arches of the proaulion are circular, springing from circular porphyry shafts, with heavy flowered capitals, such as in England we should denominate transitional; the arch itself is worked in a mixture of embattled and chevron mouldings. Over the western door is a Majesty; over one of the side ones a sculpture of the taking down from the Cross; over the other the Mother of God and three angels appearing to one in a dream, perhaps in reference to some vision which suggested the foundation of the church. The inscriptions are all either in Georgian or Greek: one of these testifies that "This church was built under Atabeg Spassalar; year 700." = 1251.

The Copto-Jacobite Patriarchal church at Alexandria¹, though modernised, may be referred to this date. Besides the usual appurtenances of an Eastern church, it has, 1. A parecclesion of the Panaghia. 2. The burial-place of the head of S. Mark. 3. is the dormitory of the Patriarchs, seventy-two of whom are said to repose here. 4. Seems to answer to the narthex, at least the door into it is, in my plan, called the principal entrance, and itself is marked as

¹ This ground-plan I received in the summer of 1844 from Egypt.

the porch. 5. is an ambo, whence a sermon is delivered once a year, namely, on Good Friday. The space between 1 and 4, and 2 and 3, is appropriated to the gynæconitis, to which, it will be seen, there are separate entrances.



GROUND-PLAN OF THE PATRIARCHAL CHURCH AT ALEXANDRIA.

The church of S. MARY at MISTRA, in the Peloponnesus, which was founded about 1220, is one of the most elaborate in Greece. It has bema, diaconicon, prothesis, naos separated by three circular piers from *bona fide* aisles, well-defined narthex, proaulion continued in a peribolus in the north and south sides. There is a central dome, supported east and west in two half domes: four smaller domes close around it, while the narthex was flanked with two western towers. The north view of this building will give a clearer idea of it: the central dome, as there seen, is modern.

S. SOPHIA at TREBIZOND, erected about 1350 by the Emperor of that place, is a very beautiful church, and may almost be called a little model of its prototype at Constantinople.

Lastly, it will be proper to speak of the Servian churches of the fourteenth century. Serbia was then, as we have seen, a powerful empire, electing and consecrating its own Patriarch. Situated on the borders of the Western Church, yet thoroughly Oriental in its Faith, it was in a peculiarly

happy position for the developement of Byzantine art. At first, as in the grand church of *STUDENITZA*, (A.D. 1190,) which is of white marble, and *Vrdnik* in the *Frusca Gora*, the forms of Constantinople were strictly followed; but, in the reign of *S. Stephen Dushan*, polygonal towers with low polygonal cappings began to be substituted for domes; the windows became narrow and long, and with all the effect of lancets; marigolds were occasionally used; square pyramidal headed turrets occasionally occurred; clerestories were frequent. The chapel of *SS. JOACHIM and ANNA*, built by King *Stephen Urosh*, that of *ZHICHKA GICHA*, that in the palace of *Kruskevitsk*, but, above all, that of *Ravenitza*, built by *S. Knies Lasar* in 1380, are all eminent examples; and near *Ravenitza* are no fewer than thirty-five churches, of a similar style, and of the fourteenth century, now mostly in ruins. The material was usually brick, arranged in various coloured patterns.

On looking at one of these buildings, it is clear that a great normal developement was all but gained; the old forms in a considerable degree remained, but a new spirit was infused into them. We may regard them as we should have regarded the choir of *Canterbury*, or the nave of *Lincoln*, had English art been swept away by infidel conquerors on their completion. Nor could the Eastern architect, desirous of a Byzantine developement, have a better preparatory study than the churches of the fourteenth century in *Servia*.

CHAPTER VI.

THE FOURTH PERIOD OF BYZANTINE ECCLESIOLOGY.

A.D. 1453—1849.

THE fall of Constantinople produced the same effect on Eastern, that the Reformation, a century later, wrought on Western ecclesiology. But there was one great difference: Western architecture, after arriving, through three stages, at relative perfection, had a slow decadence of a hundred and seventy years, before it was finally extinguished: Eastern art, on the contrary, had attained, in its Servian development, its highest standard of perfection but a very few years before it was overwhelmed. Therein its course closely resembled the fate of Italy, where Middle-Pointed was at once succeeded by Renaissance.

In the further East, almost all traces of Christianity, except in the immediate Patriarchate of Jerusalem, had perished: the Bishops, where the succession still continued, had deserted their sees; the wretched congregations of Lycia or Bithynia, of the provinces that once bowed to the Throne of Antioch, assembled where and how they might, glad if the meanness of their churches, or the privacy of their assemblies, might elude or disappoint the rapacity of the Turks.

In Greece, again, and the Islands, the most conflicting influences were at work. Venetian and Genoese empire, the petty sovereignties of the Frank despots of the Isles, the expiring art of the Byzantine mind, the rising glories of mosques and minarets, made the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries in those regions a perfect Babel of ecclesiology. Persecution was rife, apostacy frequent, yet still churches

were built, and in some rare instances, monasteries founded ; but the general effect in the unreality and grotesqueness of architecture at that period, resembles nothing so much as the extraordinary condition of Bosnia, where renegade chiefs introduced the turban and the yatagan into their feudal castles, and made their prostrations towards Mecca by the tombs of their knightly ancestors.

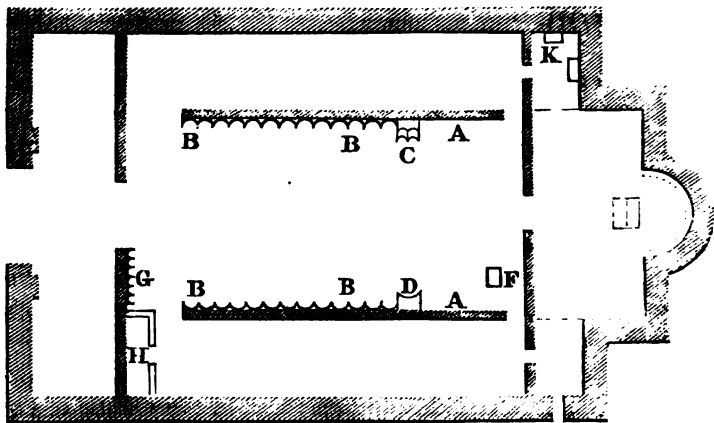
Russia indeed, already marked out by Divine Providence as the future stay of the Eastern Church, might, under other circumstances, have kept alive and developed its architecture, but she was now groaning under the yoke of the Tartars ; and though her Church proved the one great national bond of union, and preserved her from splitting up into a variety of petty provinces, the long domination of the Mongols impressed a Tartaric similitude on Russian ecclesiology. The tent of those nomad tribes was the normal principle of all their architecture ; the tent became therefore the prototype of the cathedrals of the Kremlin, and retained its ascendancy well nigh down to the time of the Autocrat Peter. Of this developement more presently.

Georgia, though suffering severely from Turkish and Persian incursions, still held her own ; and in the middle of the fifteenth century the Exarchal church of Mtskétha was re-founded with a dignity that would not have disgraced an earlier and a better age.

A very few observations will suffice for this dark and lamentable period of Eastern ecclesiology.

The first building that claims our attention is the present Patriarchal church of Constantinople, situated in the Phanar, as it existed in Dr. Covell's time, who has furnished the following rough plan. We have the altar, the prothesis, and the diaconicon, in the ordinary place, except that they are thrown unusually forward ; behind the altar is the synthronus, the Patriarch's throne being in the midst, the metropolitans alone occupying his right and left sides ; A, A, is a kind of *chorus cantorum* ; BB, BB, are the stalls of the Bishops ; D, that of the Patriarch ; C, those of the Warwodes of Moldavia and Wallachia ; E, the ambo ; F, the *tetrapodion*, or table to contain the picture of the Saint of the

day; G are stalls for the officials of the church; H, the depository of relics. The trapeza, which intervenes between the Bishop's stalls and the party-wall which bounds the narthex, is of the very smallest possible dimensions; the narthex itself of full size, though of course no longer employed for its original purpose. The only other thing which calls for remark is, that in the prothesis is a side table (K) for the holy gifts before the initiatory ceremony, and that the piscina is under it.



GROUND-PLAN OF THE PATRIARCHAL CHURCH OF CONSTANTINOPLE.

In the Levant there is hardly a church of this date which deserves mention. The monastery church of Stauroniketa on Mount Athos, refounded by the Patriarch Jeremiah in 1522, is highly respectable: in the Greek Islands, the most noticeable building is the PANAGHIA of the PORT in MILO, which was erected in 1664, by the then Metropolitan, Dionysius, and is full of frescoes.

In the European portions of the Eastern church there has generally been an adoption of pseudo-classical architecture. Of attempts to revive or to continue Byzantine art, the Metropolitan church of BUKHOREST is a good example. The domes are here of metal, painted green.

Of the Tartaric development of Ecclesiastical architecture in Russia, the Metropolitan church of S. Basil, called also the Pokrovski cathedral, will give a good idea. The Po-



VIEW OF THE METROPOLITICAL CHURCH OF S. BASIL.

krovski, or cathedral of the Protection of the Holy Virgin, was erected by Ivan Vasilivich, 'the Terrible,' in gratitude for his victory over the last Tartar rebellion in Russia, that of the Khan of Kazan. Ivan, then in the height of his glory, marched to that city, carrying an immense tent-church with the army; the siege was carried on with vigour, and at the very moment that the Deacon was pronouncing the words of the Gospel, 'There shall be one fold and One Shepherd,' a tremendous explosion gave notice of the success of a mine, and the fall of the city. On his return to Moscow, Ivan, in 1554, commenced the cathedral, or rather mass of buildings, containing nine churches. He dedicated it to S. Mary, but it is usually called from S. Basil of Moscow, the Wonderworker, whose 'incorruptible remains' repose in the church. Phedor Ivanovitch added eight churches to his father's nine, and painted the exterior; four have been

added since his time, making twenty-one in all; of these eleven are on the ground-floor, ten on the upper, the lower part of each dome being a church: they are, of course, exceedingly small; the so called cathedral is contained in the central spire. Catherine II. expended 10,000 roubles in repairs, and a large sum was laid out on the building in 1816, 17, as it had suffered much from the French invasion.

The general plan is a slightly oblong square, with lofty central octagonal spire; eight domes stand round it, and an additional one at the north-east. The domes are painted in the brightest colours, and all different from each other; some are gold, fretty green, some of dazzling red, with spiral stripes of white, some are simply gilded. The effect of a summer sun shining on these spires, domes, globes, crosses, and chains, is almost magical. It is usual at Moscow to bequeath money for painting the outside of the Pokrovski. At the east end is a small detached pyramidal spire. The principal entrances are at the north and south, by covered staircases, surmounted by spires that glitter with green tiles.

Of other Tartaric churches it will be sufficient to mention that of the Annunciation, at Kazan; and one near Astrakhan, both erected by Ivan the Terrible; and the cathedral of Astrakhan, built about 1680.

As the genius of Grecian architecture is wooden, of 'Gothic' stone, so that of Tartaric is derived from a tent. Hence, a large church can only be constructed by an aggregation of small ones. It was natural in Ivan to imitate the art of the nation he conquered, and to commemorate the church tent that he carried with him; but Russian taste has wisely dropped the gorgeous and barbaric magnificence of S. Basil in the Kremlin.

With respect to the modern churches of Russia, little, till within the last few years, can be said in their praise. Those in villages are of a mean description, and in no particular style; the dome elongated or flat, ogee or truncated, as suited the taste of the architect, or the fancies of the contributors. Thus we constantly meet with erections of tin or wood in which the Tartar element is still distinctly visible.

So it is at Jedrova for example; so constantly in the country of the Don Cossacks, as at Dobrinka and Kasankaia.

Most of these appear to have an antiquity of a hundred and fifty years, and therefore for all ecclesiological purposes are perfectly valueless. Towards the end of the eighteenth century, however, a classical reaction took place throughout Russia, more especially in the larger, or manufacturing towns: so at Toulâ, the Sheffield of Russia, there is a miserable imitation of a Pantheon; so at Staupol; so in all the new erections of or around Odessa. The chapel in the palace of Tsarkoe-Selo is a singularly gorgeous example.

Very lately, the same spirit of revival that has manifested itself through the greater part of Europe, has found its way into Russia also. The Holy Governing Synod has issued plans for the erection of new churches, in order to prevent the building of such edifices as those I have been describing: and the Emperor, by an *oukaz*, has commanded the adoption of the Byzantine style throughout his dominions. Whether a new developement of Christian art may be expected in Russia, time only can shew.

Two churches, however, claim a word or two: the one finished, the other designed.

The Metropolitan church of S. ISAAC at S. Petersburg, originally built in wood by the Tsar Peter, founded by the Empress Catherine II., but only now finished by the liberality of his present Majesty, is the largest cathedral of the Greek rite. The materials, sculptures, cost, architectural skill, are worthy of the position it holds; the style is, however, unfortunately classical, and therefore the church is not strictly within my limits. The gorgeous folio, published under the auspices of the Tsar, by the architect, contains a most interesting series of views, not only of the various parts and details of the church, but of the most exciting scenes which occurred during its erection, such as the elevation of the monolithic piers, the benediction of the great cross, &c.

Of churches now in the progress of erection, that of S. SAVIOUR'S, on the Sparrow Hill, near Moscow, is of the most stupendous dimensions. It is intended to commemorate the flight of Buonaparte from Russia; but, from its enormous

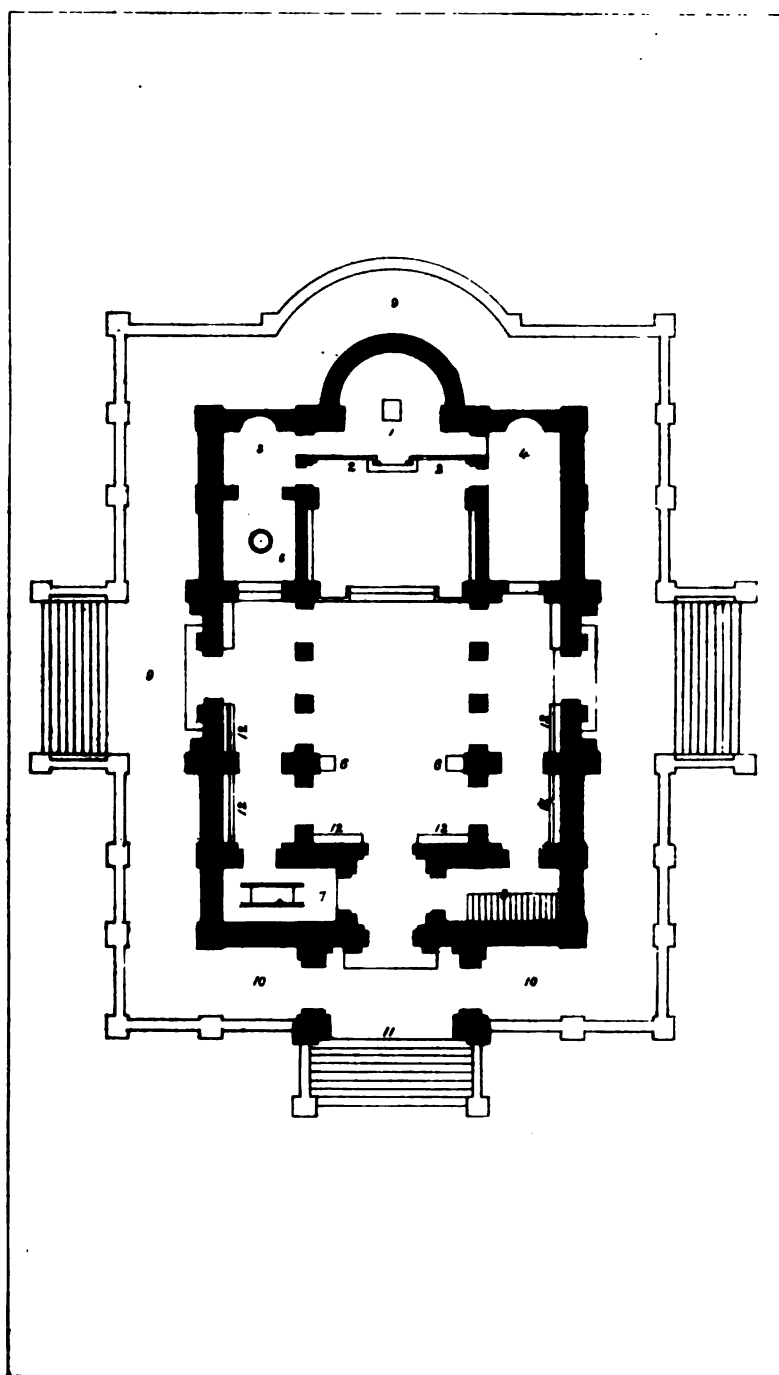
size, will probably never be finished. It is built on the side of a hill, which greatly increases the effect. The plan is the usual one, but the edifice contains three churches, one above the other; that of the Nativity, that of the Transfiguration, that of the Resurrection. The central dome will rise to a height of 770 feet from the foundation; the four small domes, containing forty-eight musical bells, will crown the extremities of the Greek cross: the form of the lowest church is therefore a parallelogram; of the second, the usual plan; the upper one is a circle. The total length is 560 feet, but at the west end will be a colonnade, something less than half a mile in length; and flanked with two towers, 330 feet in height, made of cannon captured from the French.

I must not forget to mention the beautiful custom by which Russian piety consecrates the place of any remarkable death, by converting it into a church. Thus the house at **BELEF** where the Empress Elisabeth expired is now a hospital for twenty-four poor widows; the room of death is the chapel, and the place where the bed stood, the bema. A similar use has been made of the house at **TAGANROG**, in which the Emperor Alexander died.

The churches of Siberia are, of course, modern, the oldest town, **Tioumen**, having been founded in 1586; the greatest antiquity that any of them possesses is a century and a half, as at **Nijnei Kolimsk**, **Srednei Kolimsk**, **Verklnei Kolimsk**. They are, however, very numerous, and exceed the number of Priests: thus, at **Tobolsk**, the old capital of Western Siberia, there are eighteen; at **Irkutsk**, the capital of Eastern Siberia, there are fifteen; at **Yakutsk**, seven; west of **Irkutsk** they are very handsome.

They are all built of wood, on foundations of stone, but are very substantial, and possess a respectable appearance: the walls are constructed of round logs, the lower side of each being scooped out so as to receive the upper part of the under one; they are then well caulked, outside with hemp and rushes, and inside with moss; then they are wainscoted, puttied, painted, and heated with Russian stoves. This construction is necessary, where the thermometer in summer sometimes reaches 106° of Fahrenheit, and sometimes in win-





ter falls as low as -83° : a greater difference of temperature than between boiling water and ice.

It may not be uninteresting to conclude with a ground-plan of the church now in course of erection in London for the Greek Communion, as designed by an architect at Athens, M. Cantanzogli.

It rather approximates to Western arrangement. The choir is distinctly marked off from the trapeza; the latter is long and well developed; there are *bona fide* aisles. There is a double ambon; and the baptistery is, by an indefensible arrangement, joined to the prothesis.

The bema is called, in the architect's plan, the *ἱερὸν τέμπλον* and that which is indeed the proaulion is marked as the narthex. The gynæconitis is over the true pronaos.

CHAPTER VII.

ARMENIAN ECCLESIOLOGY.

I HAVE already said that Armenian ecclesiology may be divided into five epochs. To be able, however, to follow these on historically, it would be necessary to have some acquaintance with the works undertaken by the Patriarchs while residing at Akhtamar and at Sia. But the shores of Lake Van, and the valleys of Cilicia, have not only never been ecclesiologically explored, but I am obliged to profess my most entire ignorance of even the names of any churches which they may contain. I can only, in the following chapter, attempt some little account of those churches which surround Etchmiadzine and Mount Ararat, or which, being in Georgia, have received and retained the Armenian stamp.

They will fall naturally under four divisions ;

1. The Primatial church of Etchmiadzine, which is only Armenian in situation, importance, and ornaments, but not in its original plan or arrangement.

2. The purely Armenian churches, derived from the model of S. Hripsime.

3. The churches, and those more especially in Georgia, which combine in different proportions Byzantine and Armenian arrangements.

4. The churches in Armenia and Georgia which can be distinctly referred neither to the one style nor to the other.

Thus I shall notice under

1. ETCHMIADZINE.

2. S. HRIPSIME.

S. GAYANNE.

UCH KILISSE, DIADZEN.

KARAJUAN.

ABBERKAUN.

KEISE.

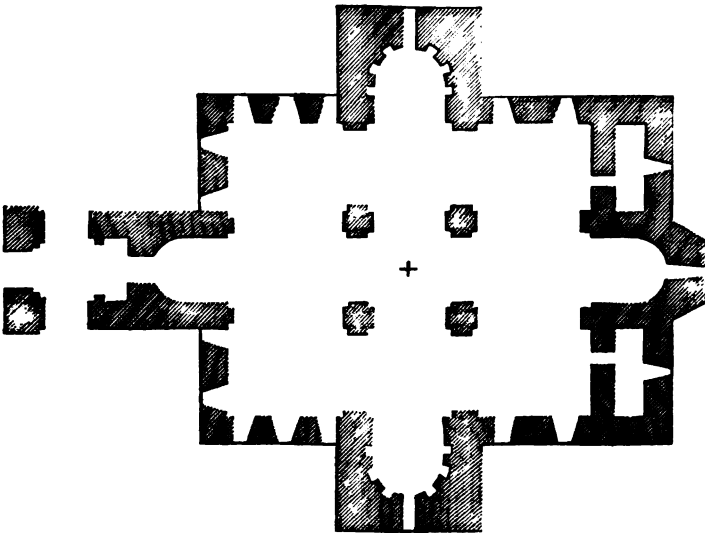
KITCHIVAN.

AKHALTSIK.

KHARNI.

SION AT KARTHLI.	S. JAMES ON ARARAT.
MARTVILL.	CATHEDRAL OF SHIOMIGVEM- SKY MONASTERY.
3. MTSKÉTHA.	CATHEDRAL OF ANI.
MARNACHEN.	ANNANOUR.
KETCHABOUSSI.	4. NIKORTSMINDA.
TIFLIS CATHEDRAL.	CHAKBOULAK.
TIFLIS SION.	S. GREGORY'S WELL.
USUMLAR.	CATZKHL.
TRUSOFF.	KIEGHART.
ZACHIN.	ANI SEPULCHRAL CHAPEL.
ZAMOUR.	

I must also observe that all the views and ground-plans in this chapter, are from M. Dubois de Montpereux, except the two at Ani, which are from M. Texier. In the accounts of the churches, I have principally followed M. Mouravieff's *Armenia and Georgia*, with the two above-named writers: but other particulars are given from Jossilian's *History of Georgia*; Taverner's, Ker Porter's, Fraser's, Chardin's, Tournefort's *Travels*; Parrot's *Ascent of Mount Ararat*, and Dwight and Smith's *Researches in Armenia*.



GROUND-PLAN OF ETCHMIADZINE



VIEW OF ETCHMIADZINE.

The Cathedral, Metropolitan, and Primatial church of the Descent of the Only-Begotten at ETCHMIADZINE, lies about thirty-five miles to the north of Mount Ararat, and therefore in the Russian Empire. Though it is by no means an Armenian church in any one feature except its spires, I prefer to describe it in this place, as it has been a good deal altered to suit the Armenian rite.

The church was founded by S. Gregory the Illuminator near the then capital city of Vagarshabad; on the spot where he is said to have been privileged with a vision of our Lord, Who commanded him to erect a temple on that ground. Hence the name of the monastery.

Vagarshabad ceased to be the capital of Armenia in A.D. 344; the Patriarchs transferred their seat elsewhere in A.D. 452: nor did they return to it till 1441.

Armenian tradition is constant in asserting that the ground-plan has remained the same from the time of S. Gregory to the present day. This is clearly a mistake. The original ground-plan is neither more nor less than that of

an ordinary Byzantine church, the western porch and little transeptal wings being later additions.

The monastery of Etchmiadzine was founded by Nierses II. in A. D. 524. Before this, the cathedral had been twice ruined : and was restored the first time, by a Bishop Daniel ; the second, by the Prince Vagan, in 483. At that period, in all probability, the Byzantine church which still exists under an external crust of alterations was founded. In 618 the Catholicos Gomides replaced the wooden dome by a stone spire. In 705 the Catholicos Narcissus restored the whole church ; and probably made some important alterations in it, as he obtained the surname of the *Builder*. From his time the venerable cathedral suffered the neglect of nearly a thousand years.

At the beginning of the seventeenth century, Shah Abbas the Cruel, having destroyed the city of Djulpha in Armenia, built a suburb of Ispahan, which he named the *New Djulpha*, and removed the inhabitants thither. He was anxious also to remove the monastery of Etchmiadzine to the same place, but was with great difficulty persuaded to satisfy himself by taking a few stones from the corners of the building and from the Altar, and using them as a foundation for the church of Amenaprgieh in the New Djulpha.

In 1629 the Catholicos Moses restored the pavement and repaired the walls. His successors, Philip and James, built the western porch with the spire : the other small spires were added by Eleazar at the close of the seventeenth century : and Chardin's view, accordingly, omits them. The same Eleazar, however, made another alteration which must be condemned : this was the erection of an Altar in the very centre of the four mass-piers, thus detracting from the importance of that at the east end, and encumbering the body of the church with extraneous fittings and details.

The High Altar is at the east end, in its original position, and is named from the Repose of the Panaghia. Before it is, contrary to the present practice of the Armenian Church, an iconostasis : this was given, a few years back, by the piety of the Smyrna merchants. The prothesis and the diaconicon were converted by the Catholicos Abraham, who died in 1737, into

two chapels, respectively under the Invocation of S. Gregory and the sons of Zebedee. But, from their excessive inconvenience, they are seldom used for the Liturgy: when it is celebrated at the High Altar, they are indiscriminately employed as chapels of prothesis.

The central Altar, with a ciborium springing from four columns of white marble, was built by the Catholicos Astvatsatur at the beginning of the eighteenth century, to replace that of Eleazar, which was less costly. It is said to mark the exact spot where our LORD appeared to S. Gregory. Raised on two steps, it is surrounded with a railing of bronze: and the hours are recited in front of it. On the north side is the chair which the Patriarch occupies during the offices; it was a present from Pope Innocent XI.

In the northern transept, if the expression may be used, is the Altar of S. Stephen the Protomartyr, orientating rightly, and raised on seven steps. The surrounding walls are frescoed with icons of the sainted Catholici of Armenia. In the southern transept, raised on three steps, is the Altar of the Forerunner: the frescoes around it represent Greek Prelates. These two Altars were erected by the Catholicos Eleazar; and are used at the consecration of Bishops. The church generally is painted, in the Persian fashion, with arabesques and flowers, and a trace of gilding may here and there be detected.

In the north wall are two Greek inscriptions, which are referred to the first restoration, in the fourth century. One of them is, "In the church is help for them that pray:" on the other, "Daniel Tirir Garikinis," i. e. of Garin, or Erzeroum: and below it, "LORD, have pity on Thine ancient servant; LORD, have pity on his faith."

Over the Beautiful Gates, which are of bronze, are representations of the sufferings of S. Gregory, of the building the church of Etchmiadzine, and of the conversion of King Tiridates. On each side are the Apostles SS. Peter and Paul, a strong proof of Roman influence, as neither they nor their disciples preached in Armenia.

It is needless to describe the exterior of the church, as the engraving will give an accurate idea of it. The bells are

sweet : one of them has the famous Thibetan inscription, ôm, ôm, hrum ; setting forth God as the Alpha and Omega of existence.

The monastery itself, in order to repel the constant attacks of Turks and Persians, has been surrounded by an immense double wall, fortified by five circular towers on each side ; and forming a square. Between the two the inhabitants of the neighbourhood were accustomed to deposit their valuables in time of war, and a bazaar is still held here.

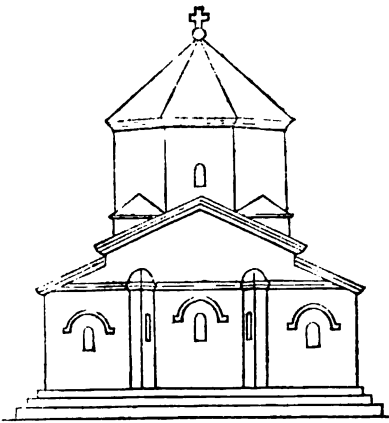
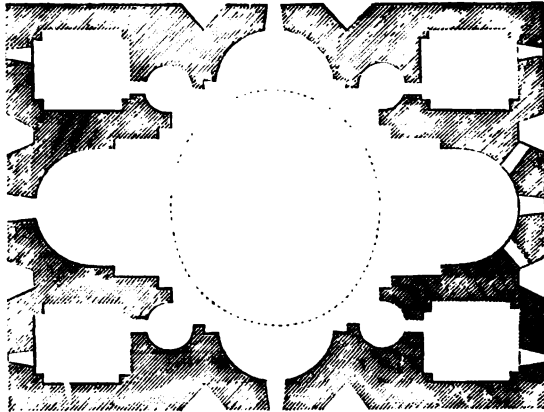
The view from the north, stretching over a vast plain in the midst of which rises this lonely abbey fortress, while Great Ararat towers up beyond in its intense brightness, and the huge cleft and the little Ararat stand out to the left, gives an idea of solemnity and majesty well befitting the Primatial church of a great nation.

II.

The church, however, of S. Hripsime is of deeper interest, as really being the norm of all Armenian ecclesiastical buildings. Indeed, notwithstanding its great rudeness, no feature afterwards occurs that does not, in an incipient state, manifest itself here. In the first place the arrangement ever continued unaltered. There is the double narthex at the west end, answering to the prothesis and diaconicon at the east ; there are the four apsidal arms ; there is the attempt at a polygonal apse on each face, while there was yet to be no projection. This led to the *niche*, which, in the present case, is very rudely managed by a kind of elliptic vaulting, but which, as we shall presently see, afterwards was improved into a great ornament of Armenian churches.

The Armenian ritual, as I shall have occasion to observe, never attached so much importance to the office of the prothesis as did that of Constantinople, and at present the chapel of prothesis is scarcely used. Yet, in the Armeno-Gregorian rite, both that and the diaconicon are distinctly mentioned, and must certainly have been employed. Another argument that the eastern chapels, however used now, were originally the prothesis and vestry, arises from the fact, that

mingled among churches of Armenian arrangement occur others of purely Byzantine design, in which there can be no reasonable doubt as to the intention of the chapels on each side the bema. But what they were in the latter case, that also must they have been in the former.



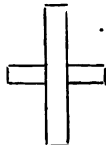
CHURCH OF S. HRIPSIME NEAR ETCHMIADZINE *

Nor can there be any reasonable doubt that the chapels at the west are the true narthex. It might be almost enough to ask the two questions: as we know from the ritual that a narthex did exist, where else could it have been? and, as these chapels must have been of some use, what other could

* It will be seen from the ground-plan, that the tower now has an elliptical shape. It has been thus distorted by the badness of its construction.

it have been than this? But there is another way of looking at the question.

As the Greek cross made all its four arms equal, and the Latin cross only bisected those of the bar, so the Armenian cross, adopting a middle course, bisected both bar and upright, but did not make the two sets of arms equal. The shape was this: a form which so often occurs in Armenian tombs. Now, apply the idea to a church. It was already longer from east to west than the Armenian ritual required: if a narthex were to be added after the Byzantine fashion, the proportion would be still more outrageous. The problem to be solved was,—cannot the pronaos be introduced in some other way? Can it not be made to occupy some of the spare room which would otherwise be worse than superfluous? This question I imagine that some great mind solved by the production of S. Hripsime. He gained all that he required, and stamped the impress of his genius on the architecture of his nation. He worked by no model, but left an everlasting type to his people.



It is impossible to look at the ground-plan of this building without owning that it shews a great degree of æsthetical refinement; that it was the result of deliberate invention, not the *nisus* of rude impulse; that it assumed as necessary the prothesis and diaconicon, and adapted the rest of the building to them; and therefore, on all these accounts, we cannot assign to it a date by any means so early as that to which Armenian vanity carries it, the time of S. Gregory; but may attribute it, with great probability, according to another tradition, to the sixth century.

Nor is the disuse of the eastern and western chapels hard to be explained. The penitential system having, in Armenia as elsewhere, fallen into obsolescence, the nartheces, of course, remained unemployed. The intercourse between Rome and Armenia, which has every where left such deep traces in the latter, suggested their employment as chapels. And that step once taken, to use the prothesis and diaconicon—never so important as in the Byzantine rite—in a similar way, was the natural consequence: although, be it

remembered, the date of the conversion of the eastern chapels is generally, as at Etchmiadzine, late enough to be perfectly remembered. The length of this church is 84 feet; its breadth, 59½; its height to the top of the cross, 104½.

S. Hripsime, the Virgin Protomartyr of Armenia, who refused to wed Tiridates till he should profess Christianity, is one of the national Saints, and is celebrated on the third of June. Her nurse, S. Gayanne, is commemorated on the fourth of the same month.

Next in importance to the church of S. Hripsime is that of S. GAYANNE, which is of the same form, and possesses the same antiquity. Here is another proof of the design being struck out, at one time and by one mind; not the slightest improvement is discernible in one building as compared to the other, the only difference being that of size; S. Gayanne is the smaller. This, very probably, was intended to express the superior dignity of the Virgin Martyr.

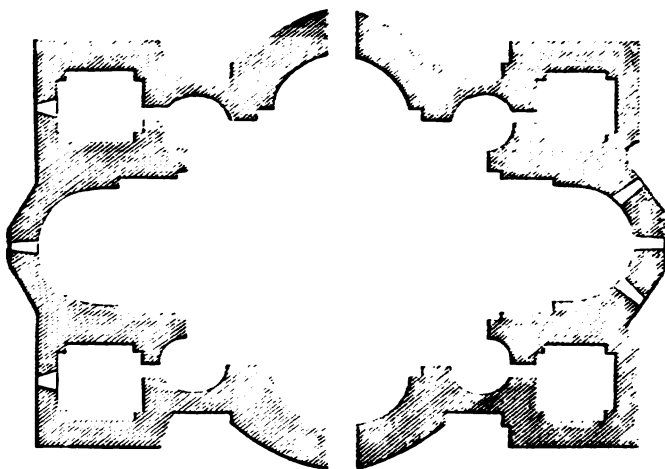
There are other churches which seem to be built on precisely the same plan; such is that of UCH KILISSE, (the Trinity,) near Diadeen; of KARAJUAN, a Tartar village, which is built of lava; of ABBERKAUM, near Erivan; of KELSE, near Agayik, which is composed of white stone; and of two small churches between Ani and Kotchevan.

Another excellent example is the oldest of the Armenian churches in AKHALTSIK. This is also a direct copy of S. Hripsime, though at present there are no windows except in the tower; the heat of the fight having been immediately round this church, in the bloody storm of Akhaltsik by Field-Marshal Paskevitch, Aug. 27, 1828.

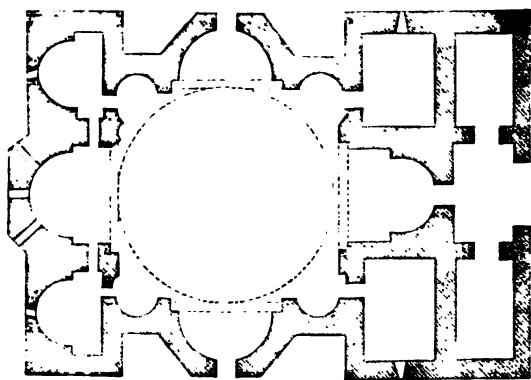
S. John Baptist, at KHARNI, is a very elegant instance, though in this case the four arms of the cross are equal. Here the Armenian niche arrives at perfection. The tower, however, is circular, after the Georgian fashion.

The church of SION at KARTHLI, in the valley of Atene, though very much resembling that of S. Hripsime, has its points of difference; the arms of the cross project considerably beyond the face of the walls; the niche is scarcely perceptible to the east, entirely disappears in the west, while it is much broader and more marked in the north and south.

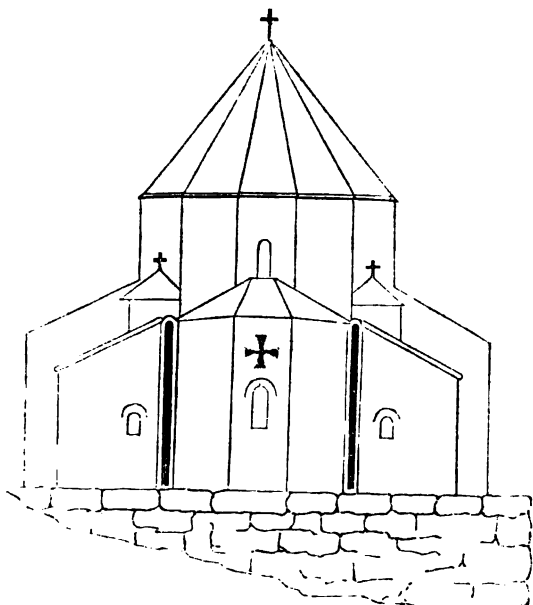




GROUND-PLAN OF THE CHURCH OF SION AT KARTLI



GROUND-PLAN OF THE CHURCH OF MARTVILL



ELEVATION OF CHURCH OF SION, AT KARTLI.

Here also it is applied with greater elegance, and is terminated in a more ornamental manner, though not with the beauty that, as we have seen, it possessed at Cutais. The spire is decagonal, instead of octagonal as at S. Hripsime; there is no western door: and over the circular-headed light which is placed in the centre of the western apse, there is a small window in the shape of a cross. The length of Sion is four feet less than S. Hripsime; its other dimensions are the same. The date of this church is A.D. 998. I may observe that all the churches in Georgia that are not domed are called SION, and either are, or originally were, dedicated to the Assumption of the Mother of God. The reason of the name is not certain; popular belief represents them as imitated from a church so built, and so dedicated, in Gethsemane.

The cathedral of MARTVILI stands on a lofty, solitary hill, on the place where the Apostle S. Andrew is said to have raised the first cross in the province of Mingrelia. He had here previously cut down an oak, which had been used in idol-worship. Martvili signifies 'the place of torture;' the

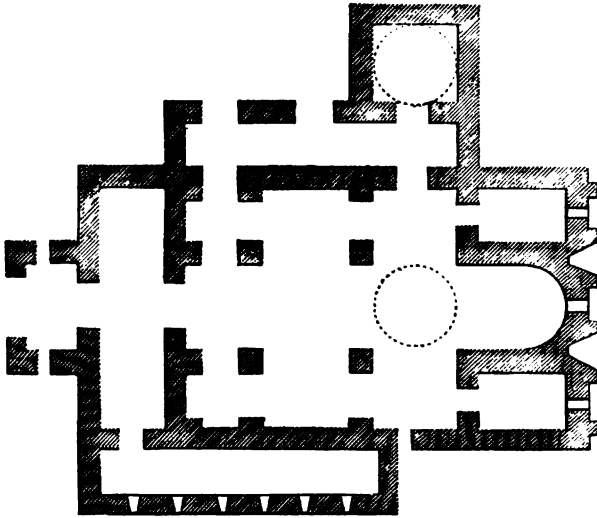
name is supposed to have been given from the human sacrifices that were there offered; but it is more usually called **CHKON-DIDI**, or the Great Oak, and thus also the Diocese is denominated. An inscription in the passage to the prothesis sets forth that "the church of Chkon-didi was built by the Lord Constantine." This Constantine is believed to have been King of Kartalenia in the tenth century. The church is clearly a copy from the Sion at Karthli, with the addition of a western proaulion; its extreme length and extreme breadth are the same as those of S. Hripsime. The four chapels are, notwithstanding, flattened; the two eastern ones are made interiorly apsidal, while a passage is opened from the bema to the parabemata; the proaulion, however, and two western chapels are, according to M. Mouravieff, of later date; this I can only understand of their having been rebuilt, for the whole arrangement shews that, in this instance, the four chapels were not designed accurately to correspond. The High Altar is of marble; it stands, on five shafts, over the stump of the oak that S. Andrew cut down. The prothesis and diaconicon now form two chapels, respectively named from the Assumption and from S. George.

III.

I now pass to those churches which unite in themselves Armenian and Byzantine arrangement. Of some of these I have already spoken; for example, Ani, Gagra, and Dighour; *they*, however, seemed more properly to belong to Constantinopolitan art.

The greater part of these will be found in Georgia; the characteristics of their architecture have already been given. One distinction between Georgian and purely Armenian churches remains to be pointed out; the latter have usually octagonal towers, but, where they are round, the conical head is very low, and the windows few and far apart; Georgian towers are always round, the spires are high, and the windows, much slimmer and longer than those of Armenian churches, stand thick together.

The cathedral of **ՄՏԿԷՐԻԱ** first claims our attention. It



GROUND-PLAN OF THE CATHEDRAL OF MTSKÉTHA.

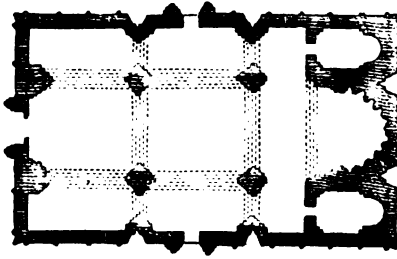
stands on the site of the first Christian church in Georgia, which was built of wood by King Miriam in 318, and consecrated by S. Eustathius of Antioch. In 378 it was rebuilt of stone by Miridates; and, towards 500, when Georgia was no longer dependent on Antioch, it was rebuilt and enlarged by Vachtang Gorgaslau. In 1318, it was ruined by an earthquake, but restored by King George IV.: a century later, it was desolated by Tamerlane; King Alexander restored it about 1490. The tower was thrown down by another earthquake, and again raised by the piety of Maria, the Christian Queen of the Mahometan Rostoff; it was again repaired by Vachtang; and lastly, in the middle of the eighteenth century by the Catholicos Antony, who fairly spoilt it. Before his time it appears to have resembled Martvili in its ground-plan, except that six lateral chapels had been added to it; these Antony removed, and, destroying the projecting transepts, made the north and south sides flat. At present Mtskétha has bema, parabemata, naos, proaulion, and a kind of porch beyond that, very small and low; there is a central tower and conical spire, which rises to the height of 117 feet. The extreme length of the church is 209 feet; its extreme breadth 112. The synthronus is triple;

the highest row of seats is for the Catholicos of Georgia alone; the second for sixteen Bishops; (the reader will see by referring to p. 102 that the Catholicos only possessed eighteen;) the third for Priests. The iconostasis (for the Armenian curtain is not here introduced) is unusually close to the east end. The spire of Mtskétha is the finest in the East, with the exceptions of Etchmiadzine and Alaverde: on the south side is a cloister. The whole outside of the building is elaborately carved in crosses, &c.; the inside is equally rich in frescoes, while the tombs of the Kings and Patriarchs of Georgia are very interesting.

Of some other churches which unite in themselves the two styles, I am able to give little beyond the names. The church of MARNACHEN, built in 988; the cathedral of TIFLIS, in 1065; Holy Sion, in the same city, used for the Armenian rite; KETCHABOUSSI, erected in 1033; USUMLAR, which, though on a much smaller scale, closely resembles Mtskétha, and is distinguished by its piazza of four-centred arches; TRUSOFF, ZACHEN, and ZAMOUR, now in ruins; and, generally speaking, the churches of S. David the Restorer, and Queen Tamar; two very fine examples of the latter exist, though in ruins, at KASIBEG. To these may be added the church of S. JAMES, on ARARAT, built of lava, in 1288, by Mekhitar and Tamar, as an inscription remains to prove; which further directs that they be commemorated four times a year in the Holy Oblation.

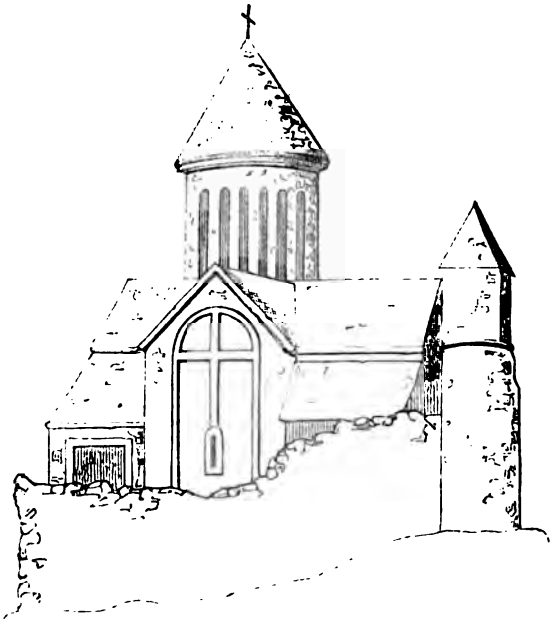
The cathedral of the SHIO-MIGVEMSKY monastery is another noble example. The Shio-migvemsky, or monastery of the cave of Shio, one of the thirteen Syrian recluses, (for whom see p. 62,) which was built by S. David the Restorer, resembled Martvili in a great measure, but had a proaulion flanked by two towers, which are now in ruins. It is remarkable for the enormous size of its piers, and for its beautiful iconostasis of stone; the latter has no side doors.

I now come to the cathedral of ANI. This, it will be seen, is Byzantine in its general arrangement; but it carries the *niche*, on three sides, to great perfection. The synthronus is curious; while the mouldings of the whole church are very elaborate.



GROUND-PLAN OF THE CATHEDRAL OF ANI.

Lastly,—and it may shew how stationary Armenian art has been for centuries,—there are two churches at ANNANOUR, one bearing date 1604, the other 1614, which are both

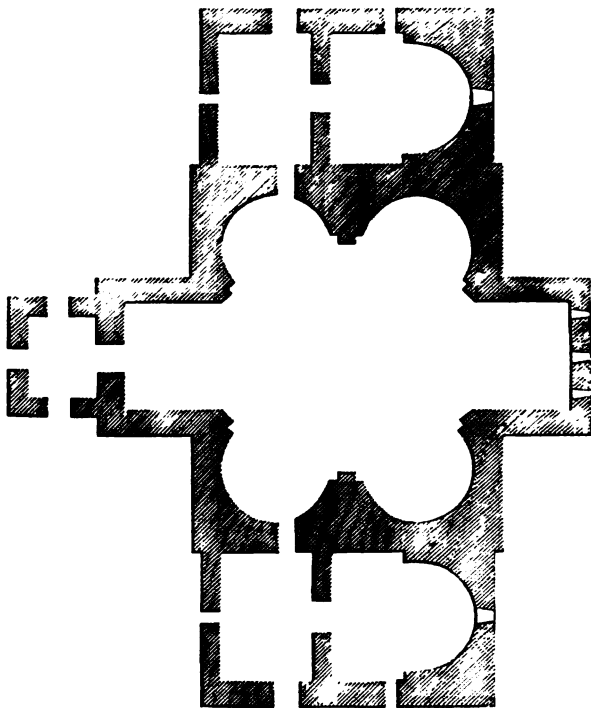


CHURCH OF ANNANOUR.

of the Byzantine-Armenian arrangement, with details hardly differing from the foregoing. The preceding cut represents the larger of the two; it was much injured by the Turks in 1787.

IV.

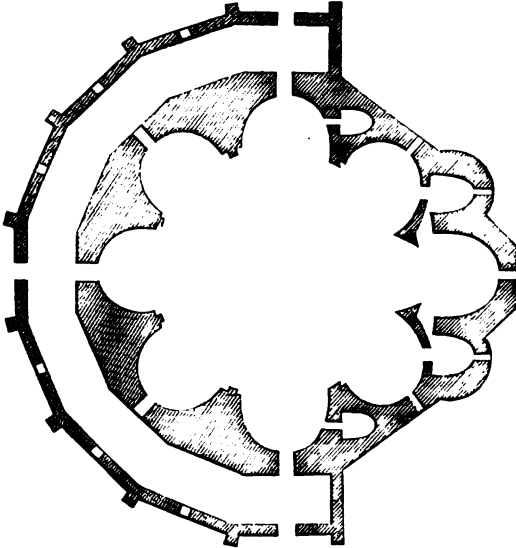
But there are some churches in Armenia and Georgia which can be referred to no exact type; I will here mention a few of the most remarkable.



GROUND-PLAN OF THE CATHEDRAL CHURCH OF NIKORTSMINDA.

The very curious cathedral church of NIKORTSMINDA is one of the most richly ornamented in Georgia. It has two parecclesia of considerable size. The extreme length is $91\frac{1}{2}$, the extreme breadth $76\frac{1}{2}$ feet. On the south side is a remarkable sculpture; our LORD giving the benediction, in the Greek fashion, surrounded by Angels, and a hand, giving the benediction in the same fashion, hanging down from His feet. It is not improbable that the architect of this building, which is said to date from the 11th century, in-

tended, in the strongest manner, to express the Oriental view of the *Filioque* controversy.

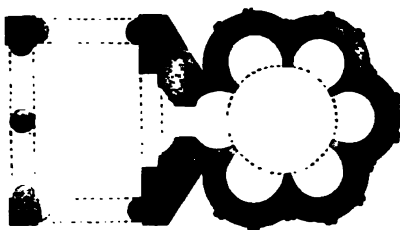


GROUND-PLAN OF CHURCH AT CATZKEH.

The church of CATZKHI, in Mingrelia, is of very remarkable plan. Outside it presents a circular tower with conical head, and lighted by twelve windows; this is surrounded by a second circular stage, so to speak, arcaded by twisted shafts, supporting flat segmental arches; in each is a circular-headed light, richly worked. The lowest stage is arcaded in the same way, though between the light and the segmental head intervenes a flat straight-sided arch, with voluted mouldings. The extreme length of this church is 67, its extreme breadth $71\frac{1}{2}$ feet; there are two very small parecclesia. It is probable, from certain mannerisms, that this church had the same architect as Nikortsminda. An inscription remains, "O Trinity, have mercy on Djikoua Jadzi, superior of this church."

The church of KIEGHART, in Armenia, is extremely curious. It is partly crypt: its north side, and all its northern chapels, being cut out of the wild rocks of Airivank. There is first a domed pronaos of thirty feet square, with four central columns, and of course eight responds, two on

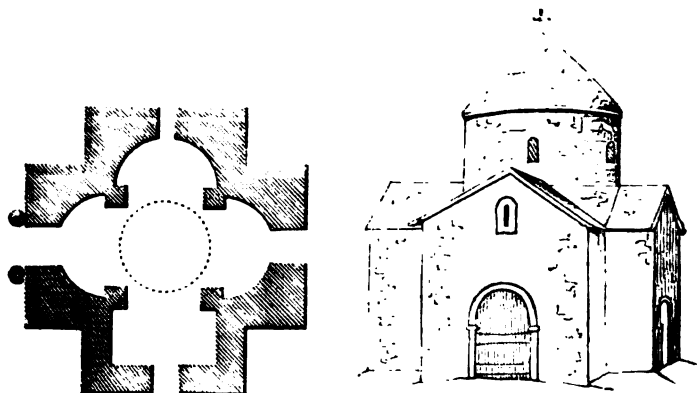
each side. The piers are circular, with square bases, and cushion capitals, each of the latter differing from the rest: they exactly resemble Romanesque work. The church itself is, on the whole, of Byzantine arrangement, but has the Armenian antiparabemata. A passage to the north leads into another pronaos and church precisely similar to those above described, only much smaller: and there is to the east a small oratory called the chapel of Lions, from two lions sculptured in the tympanum of the entrance.



SEFULCHRAL CHAPEL AT ANI.

Lastly, I give the ground-plan of a small sepulchral chapel at Ani, the most elegant building, perhaps, in Armenia.

The church of CHAK-BOULAK, needs no further descrip-



GROUND PLAN AND VIEW OF CHAK BOULAK

tion than the foregoing ground-plan and elevation. The extreme length of each arm is twenty-eight feet.

S. GREGORY'S chapel, built over the well named from

that Saint, is another of these buildings. The well is considered holy; and its water is thought to possess the power of bringing the *Tetiguash*, or bird that devours the locusts.

I have thus gone through some of the richest ecclesiastical treasures of the East. One church, the Holy SEPULCHRE at Jerusalem, I have purposely omitted, because its unique history and plan render it a thing apart: and, however interesting in themselves, bear little on my immediate subject^b. A remarkable imitation of it was built by the Patriarch Nikon, in the middle of the sixteenth century, under the name of the *New Jerusalem*, near Moscow. A ground-plan of this lies before me: but, however instructive as connected with the history of the Holy Sepulchre, it would throw no light on the general subject of Oriental Ecclesiology.

^b And, I may now add, because its Professor Willis will doubtless leave promised 'Architectural History' by little to be desired on this head.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE ECCLESIASTICAL VESTMENTS OF THE HOLY EASTERN CHURCH.

I MUST now, in conclusion, speak of the vestments used by the Eastern Church, both in the Liturgy, and in the other offices.

The first vestment which an Oriental Priest puts on, when robing for the Liturgy, is the *stoicharion*^a. This answers to the Latin alb, and according to both S. Symeon^b of Thessalonica, and S. Germanus of Constantinople, is intended to signify purity of life and conversation. These writers constantly refer to it as if of white linen^c. Now, however, it is often, and more especially in Russia, formed from the richest silk or velvet. In Lent, except on the Festival of the Annunciation, Palm Sunday, and Easter Eve, it is purple. The *stoicharion* is worn by the Armenian Priests, differing neither in form nor in name from that of the Greek Church. In the Copto-Jacobite Church it is known by the name of *jabat*^d or *tounniat*; by the Syro-Jacobites it is called *koutino*^e, which is a mere corruption of the Greek *χιτώνιον*.

An Armenian Priest, however, before assuming the *stoicharion*, puts on the *vakass*, which is unknown in any other part of the Eastern Church. It seems to be adopted from

^a Also *στιχάριον*. It is mentioned as early as the will of S. Gregory Nazianzen: *βούλομαι αὐτῷ δοθῆναι κάμασον α', στιχάριον α', παλλία β'*, if indeed that word be here used in an Ecclesiastical sense.

^b S. Symeon Thessalonic., p. 218.

*οἱ δ' ἄρ' ὑποδρηστήρες ἐν εἵμασι παμφανόωσιν
ἱστοάσων, ἀγγελικῆς εἰκόνες ἀγλαΐης.*

^d Abusebah, *Scientia Ecclesiastica*,
ap. Renaudot, Lit. Or. i. 171. ed.
1847.

Eucholog.: *τὸ καθαρόν καὶ ἀμόλυντον
εἰκονίζει τῆς ἱερατικῆς τάξεως.*

^c And this is more especially the case with respect to the *stoicharion* of the Deacon and Subdeacon. S. Gregory Nazianzen in his dream of Anastasia:

^e Renaudot, *Comment. ad Lit. Syriac.*
S. Jacob., p. 54.

the Latin amice^f, but has the addition of a breast-plate, evidently taken from the Jewish ephod, only substituting the names or figures of the twelve Apostles for those of the twelve tribes.

The next vestments are the *epimanikia*^g. The word is barbarous, being evidently a compound of Greek and Latin. We find them also named *μανίκια*, *ἐπιμάνικα*, and *ὑπομάνικα*. In the Russian Church they are called *poruche* or *hand pieces*, in the Syro-Jacobite Communion *zendo*^h, but the latter are extremely unlike the Greek vest. The *epimanikia* come nearest to the Latin maniple, but they do not resemble it in shape, and are worn on both hands, instead of on the left only. They approach more closely to the ancient shape of the maniple, as worn by the Cistercian Abbessesⁱ. They hang down in two peaked flaps, on each side the arm, and are fastened under the wrist with a silken cord run along the border, by which they are drawn in, and adjusted to the arm. In some mosaics of Saints, which adorn the walls of Nicæa^k, they are, however, represented under quite a different form, and approximate to the sleeve of a well-made surplice. As to their mystical signification, Balsamon will have them to set forth the bands wherewith our LORD was fastened; and S. Symeon agrees with him^l.

^f As the Armenians have borrowed so much from the Latins, it has always struck me that the *vakass* was the amice; and I find that M. Mouravieff, in his chapter on the Armenian Liturgy, (Travels in Georgia and Armenia, vol. ii. p. .) has come to the same conclusion. I may remark that this chapter, to which I shall often refer, is particularly valuable, the Liturgy having been performed, with the greatest possible magnificence, by order of the Patriarch, in the church of Etchmiadzine, for the express benefit of M. Mouravieff, than whom no one is better able to describe it, both æsthetically and ecclesiologically. The Armenians, however, strenuously deny the Roman origin of this vestment,

and assert it to be simply Jewish.

^g So the word is constantly written in the Euchology. Bulgari gives the derivation; τὰ ὑπομάνικα ἢ καὶ ἐπιμάνικα λέγονται οὕτως ἀπὸ τῆς χειρὸς, καὶ ἀπὸ τὴν πρόθεσιν ὑπὸ, ἢ ἐπὶ.

^h Renaud. Comment. ad Lit. S. Jacob. Syr., p. 55.

ⁱ De Moleon, Voyage Liturgique, p. 235. fig. xiv.

^k I learn this from Texier's *Asie Mineure*, but have lost the reference.

^l Bulgari gives τὸ δέσιμον τῶν Ἀχράντων Χειρῶν as one explanation; but as another the παντοδυναμίαν τοῦ Θεοῦ, ὅπου μὲ τὰ χεῖρά του ἔκαμε τὰ πάντα. This system of explanation is very needlessly ridiculed by King, p. 37.

To have them embroidered with the icon of CHRIST is the privilege of Bishops only: to whom, indeed, the vestment itself was long restricted^a. We find the Emperor Manuel refusing to kiss one when worn by a Chorepiscopus. The use of the icon, as having reference to Prelates, is that this part may be presented to the salutation of the people.

Since the year 1600^a the epimanikia have been, in many instances, assumed by Deacons.

We now come to the *epitrachelion*, which is one form of the Latin stole; the other we shall notice presently. It is of this shape, and instead of being thrown round the neck, and hanging down on each side, as is the case in the Latin Church, the head is put through a hole in the upper extremity, and it simply hangs down in front. It looks, however, nearly the same as a stole, because it has a seam all down the middle. In large churches the epitrachelia were studded with gems and gold. The material is sometimes brocade, sometimes rich silk; and it is worn by the Priest in every sacred function. It is called by the Copts *bilarshil*^o, by the Syrians *ouroro*^o: the latter term a mere corruption of the Greek *orarion*, the diaconal form of the stole. It is also termed the *περιτραχήλιον* corruptly the *πετράχηλι*⁹, and also the *φακεώλιον*^r.



After this comes the *zone*, which binds both the stoicharion and epitrachelion.

The *phænolion*^a is next put on: this is precisely, in all

^a Theodor. Balsam. Resp. 37: ἡ τῶν ἐπιμανίκων . . . ἱερωτάτη ἐνδυμενία μονοῖς τοῖς ἱερεῦσι πεφλοτμήται, ὡς τὸν τύπον ἐπέχουσι τοῦ Κυρίου.

^a Goar, p. 111.

^o Abusebah, Scientia Ecclesiastic., u. a.

^r Renaudot in Lit. Syr. S. Jacob, u. a. And there was a corrupt form in Greek *σέρραριον*, used in the Apocryphal MS. life of SS. Peter and Paul,

quoted by Du Cange.

⁹ The term occurs in Crusius, Turc. Gr., p. 188.

^r So S. Germanus uses the word, but very incorrectly, as it properly signifies a hood.

^a Bulgari gives a foolish derivation: τὸ φαῖλόνιον, ὅπου κοιῶς λέγουμεν, κυρίως λέγεται φαινόλιον, διὰ τὸ μόνον ἀπὸ τὰ ἐνδύματα τοῦ ἱερέως φαίνεται ὁ λαιός.

respects, the Latin chasuble. It is also called *phælonion* and *phænoli*: which words are clearly connected with the Latin *pænula*, the other name for *casula* or *planeta*. Without discussing the question, warmly debated between Cardinal Bona and Sala on the one side, and Bingham on the other, whether the *phælones* which S. Paul left at Troas with Carpus were an Ecclesiastical vestment, I may at least observe that it is the same name which has been to this day retained by the Eastern Church. Its use is extremely ancient. We read of S. Marcian[†], who was Œconomus of the Great Church in the middle of the fifth century, that being asked an alms by a poor man in the sacristy, before the commencement of the Liturgy, and having no money at hand, he went aside, stripped himself of his clothes, gave them to the beggar, and celebrated in the *phælonion* alone. S. Nicephorus I.[‡], who was Œcumenical Patriarch from 806 to 815, writing to S. Leo III., sends him a white stoicharion and a seamless *phælonion*. It is mentioned also by the Patriarch Philotheus[§]. The miserable taste is well known, which has, in the last two hundred years, contracted the Latin chasuble into its present wasp-like form. The Russian *phælonion* has almost equally suffered, its upper part being cut away, so as only just to cover the chest: the other branches of the Eastern Church have retained the usual form. By the Copts it is named *tilsan*, by the Syrians *faino*, which seems a corruption of *phainolion*.

The Armenians have retained the name, but have entirely changed the vestment[¶], substituting for it what, to all intents and purposes, is the Latin cope. Nor is this a recent alteration, for we find the Catholicos Isaac^{*}, in his work on the errors of the Armenians, very severe upon it.

[†] Bolland. Jan. 10. Vit. S. Marcian., cap. 3.

[‡] Baronius, 806. lxviii.

[§] De Sacr. Offic., lib. vi.; in Biblioth. SS. Patrum, tom. iv.

[¶] M. Mouravieff notices this. The only difference, in the illuminations

of Armenian MSS. that I have seen, between it and the cope, is that the former had no hood.

^{*} He blames them for giving up the vestment: *ὅτι τὸ φελώνιον τὸ κυκλοῦν ὥσπερ τείχος παντὰ τὰ μέλη, ἐνδοθεν ἀποκλείει.*

These are the Eucharistical vestments of Priests. We must now consider those of Deacons. They wear the *stoi-charion* as before : but, instead of the *epitrachelion*, they carry the *orarion*. This is precisely the Latin stole, except that the words ΑΓΙΟC, ΑΓΙΟC, ΑΓΙΟC, are embroidered on it. And indeed the stole was frequently called the *orarion* in the Western Church, as by the fourth Council of Toledo, and the first of Braga. I am not here called on to discuss the question whether the word have a Latin or a Greek derivation, though the former is much more plausible. Each side has two proposed etymologies ; the Latin, either from *orare*^a, or from *os*^b, because it was originally used, as the manipule afterwards, to wipe the face ; the Greek either from *ὠραῖζεν*^c, because the Deacon was *beautified* with it, or because with it he pointed out the *ὥρα*, the *time* of the different parts of the service.

The orarion is worn over the left shoulder ; and is by S. Germanus expounded of the angelic ministry of the Deacons, as representing wings.

The Armenian orarion is not usually ornamented with the *Tersanctus*. These are the only vestments, except in some instances the *epimanikia*, which the Deacon wears.

Those employed by Bishops follow. They also, in the first place, put on the *stoi-charion*, which, however, differs from that of a Priest, by being waved in white and red bands, called *loria*. These signify rivers of grace, and set forth the doctrine which should flow from a Pontiff^d. Another kind of ornament was sometimes introduced, called *γαμμάτια*^e,

^a S. Bruno Astens. de Vestiment. Episcop. in Biblioth. SS. Patrum, xx. 300. "Vocatur autem orarium, quia quamvis sine aliis indumentis sacerdotibus, baptizare, consignare, et alia multa *orando* facere, sine orario tamen, nisi magna necessitate cogente, nihil horum agere licet."

^b Prudent. Peristeph. l. 86 :

Hic sui dat pignus oris ut ferunt orarium.

^c S. Symeon Thessalonic.: *ὠραρίον καλεῖται, διὰ τὸ ὠραῖζειν τὸν διάκονον*

τῇ χάριτι, καὶ τῆς δόξης Θεοῦ τῷ κάλλει περικοσμεῖν.

^d S. Germanus gives another explanation : τὰ λωρία τὰ εἰς τὰ πλάγια εἰσι τὸ αἷμα τὸ ρεῦσαν ἐκ τῆς πλευρᾶς τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐν τῷ σταυρῷ.

^e Goar, p. 315. circ. med. col. 2. Balsamon, Meditat. de Patriarcha, speaks of the *διὰ γαμμάτων στιχάριον* where Du Cange is mistaken in saying "quæ vero his locis *γαμμάτια*, alii *τριγώνια* vocant."

that is, four gammas placed back to back and thus forming a Greek cross. And yet another kind was called *τριγώνια*, when the stoicharion was semee of triangles: but this has gone out of fashion^f. The Episcopal epitrachelion and zone differ in no point from the Sacerdotal: but, attached to the latter, on the right side, the Bishop wears an ornament for which there is no name in the Western Church. It is termed the *epigonation*: it is of this shape, and is made of brocade, or some other stiff material; a tassel being attached to the lower corners. This was at first, like the Latin maniple, a mere handkerchief; and this form lasted as late, in some parts of the Eastern Church, as the eleventh century^g. The Armenians have retained the earlier handkerchief to the present time^h. By Balsamon it is explained of the towel wherewith our Saviour girded Himself; but it is usually made typical of a swordⁱ, and thereby of the Church's victory over the devil. And this undoubtedly is the more correct interpretation, from the ejaculation with which it is assumed, "Gird Thee with Thy sword upon Thy thigh, O Thou most mighty," &c. Neither in the Armeno-Gregorian, nor in the Armeno-Roman liturgy do I find any notice of this vestment among the petitions to be said when the others are put on, though it is undoubtedly worn. This ornament, however, is assumed, as a privilege, by the principal Ecclesiastics of the Great Church^k: just as, in



^f This clearly symbolized the Holy Trinity, though Balsamon is pleased to explain it, τὰ ἐν τοῖς τριγώνια, τὸν ἀπογυναικῶνα λίθον Χριστὸν [σημαίνει.]

^g For in the letter of Peter I. Patriarch of Antioch, (who ascended that throne in 1053, Le Quien, Or. Christ. ii. 754,) to Michael Cerularius, he calls the *ἐπιγονάτια* by the term *ἐγχείρια*, i. e. pocket handkerchiefs. And S. Germanus of Constantinople uses the same term, and speaks of the Bishop as

wiping his hands on it.

^h So I learn from M. Mouravieff's account of the Armenian Liturgy.

ⁱ S. Symeon: ὁ τὴν κατὰ τοῦ θανάτου νικῆν, . . . διὰ καὶ σχῆμα ρομφαίας ἔχει.

^k The rubric is, *ἐπιγονάτιον λαβὼν, εἰ ἔστι πρωτοσύγκελλος τῆς μεγάλης ἐκκλησίας, ἢ ἄλλος τις ἔχων ἀξιώτητα τινα*. S. Symeon is equally vague: *τινὲς δὲ τῶν πρώτων πρεσβυτέρων, ἦτοι οἱ σταυροφόροι, τῶν ἀρχιμανδριτῶν τέ τινες, ἐπιγονάτια ἔχουσι*.

some Western Sees, for example Toledo, the Canons assumed the vestments of a Bishop; while the Patriarch of Lisbon, whether a Cardinal or not, wears the red hat. Very probably the epigonation will, in course of time, become common to all Priests, in accordance with the genius of the Eastern Church, which dispenses marks of honour till they cease to be valuable.

The epimanikia of a Bishop are distinguished, as I have said, by the icon of the SAVIOUR, or of some Saint, being wrought upon them.

The phælonion was formerly worn by all Bishops, excepting the Œcumenical Patriarch¹. It was distinguished from that of a simple Priest by being crusuly, and was thence called *πολυσταύριον*: the ground was always white^m. The older icons represent all ranks of Bishops, nay even the Patriarch of Constantinople himself, in this vestment. But, at present, all Metropolitans, and in Russia all Bishops, wear the *saccos*, which answers to the Latin dalmatic. At first, Metropolitans assumed it only on the three great Festivals; but, as early as the time of Alexius Comnenus, it was their ordinary vestment. Its use by Russian Bishops is a great innovation. It represents mystically the robe in which our SAVIOUR was mocked. The Armenians do not employ this vestment, their Metropolitans as well as Bishops wearing the cope.

Lastly, all Prelates wear the *omophorion*, which is the same as the Latin pall, except that it is broader, and is fastened round the neck in a knot. Lientprand tells a foolish story of its having been first granted by John II. to Theophylact of Constantinople; whereas it is at least as early as Theophilus of Alexandria^m. Mystically, it is taken either for the lost sheep, or for the Cross as borne by our LORDⁿ.

¹ And even he, in the most ancient icons, is represented as wearing it, *e. g.* S. Gregory Nazianzen and S. John Chrysostom. Even Balsamon speaks of a *πολυσταύριον*, or a *σάκκος*, being the badge of the Patriarchal dignity.

^m It was a charge against that Patriarch that he *ἐνείλει τῷ Ἀμμωνίῳ ἀνδρὶ ἡλικιώτη τὸ ὁμοφόριον ἐν τῷ τρα-*

χῆλφ οἰκέlaus χειρὶ. So Palladius in his *Life of S. John Chrysost.* In the eighth session of the sixth Œcumenical Council the sentence against Macarius of Antioch was, *γυμνοῦσθαι τοῦ προκειμένου αὐτῷ ὁμοφορίου*.

ⁿ Bulgari, p. 28; Isidor. Pelusiot., Ep. i. 136; S. Symeon Thessalonic., p. 220. S. Germanus, that nothing may

The mitre is unknown to the Greek Church^o; in its place their prelates wear a kind of bonnet, which will be more easily understood from a cut. The Patriarch of Alexandria employs a cap^p resembling a crown, and never removes it during the Liturgy. The Latin mitre is rather a sore point with the Greeks, and they exceedingly upbraid the Armenians with its use. The latter adopted it in the year 1084, when the Pope sent a mitre as a present to the then Patriarch. Not to lose the bonnet, it has descended to the Priests, who still employ it; but as a memorial of its having been once common to Bishops also, before an Armenian Prelate begins to robe, the Deacon puts the bonnet for a moment on his head, (not as the Episcopal crown^q, but as the helmet of salvation of which S. Paul speaks,) and then removes it. The Armenian method is very awkward, because they wear the *infulæ* of the mitre under the *vakass*, so that when, in the Liturgy, they put the mitre off and on, it is no easy matter to arrange the *vakass* properly.



Such are the Eucharistical vestments employed by the Eastern Church. In other rites, the stoicharion, epitrachelion, and epimanikia are worn; in the hours, at least when said separately from the Liturgy, the phelonion without the stoicharion: but in all prayers, even in those recited preparatory to the public office, at home, the epitrachelion is worn. The Priest's every day attire is a cassock of any sober colour he pleases.

Archimandrites, and all the superior orders of the Hierarchy, wear, on some occasions, the *mandyas*, which is not very different from the cope; it is rather fuller, and the two front ends are fastened at the lower part. On this, as well

be lost, will have it to signify the one thing in a Metropolitan, the other in a Bishop.

^o Goar treats the subject of mitres at great length, but not satisfactorily, pp. 314 seq.

^p Theodore Balsamon derives this

from the presidency of S. Cyril in the third Œcumenical Council. It is not given in icons to Patriarchs of Alexandria. Cyril Lucar refers to it with no small pride, Hist. Alex. ii. 374.

^q This I learn from M. Mouravieff's work, u. s.

as on the phælonion, small bells are hung at the lower edge.

That of an Archimandrite is entirely plain ; that of a Prelate has wavy stripes which go over it, called *potama kai potmata*, rivers and cups, and setting forth, as in the stoicharion, the rivers of grace which flow from him. On his head he wears a cap, called the *χαμαλαύχη*, or *χαμαλαύχιον*, over this the *ἐξωχαμαλαύχη*, a separate hood, like those which we wear. A Metropolitan has the latter white, with a black cross in the forehead ; the others have it black. The mandyas of a Prelate, as distinguished from that of an Archimandrite, is violet or black. This will be seen from the accompanying cut.



The *pateressa*, or pastoral staff of a Greek Bishop, is quite different from the Latin form. In walking it is used to lean upon, and is not much higher than the hand ; it is a straight stick, usually of ebony and ivory ; the handle is often made of intertwining serpents. In the figures, 1. is the more usual form ; 2. is from an icon of S. Demetrius of Rostoff. The Priests have also a staff of the same kind, but not higher than the hand, and plain.



The Episcopal ring is unknown ; but the *enkolpion*, or pectoral cross, is worn in the East as in the West.

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BOOK III.

THE LITURGIES AND OFFICE-BOOKS

OF THE

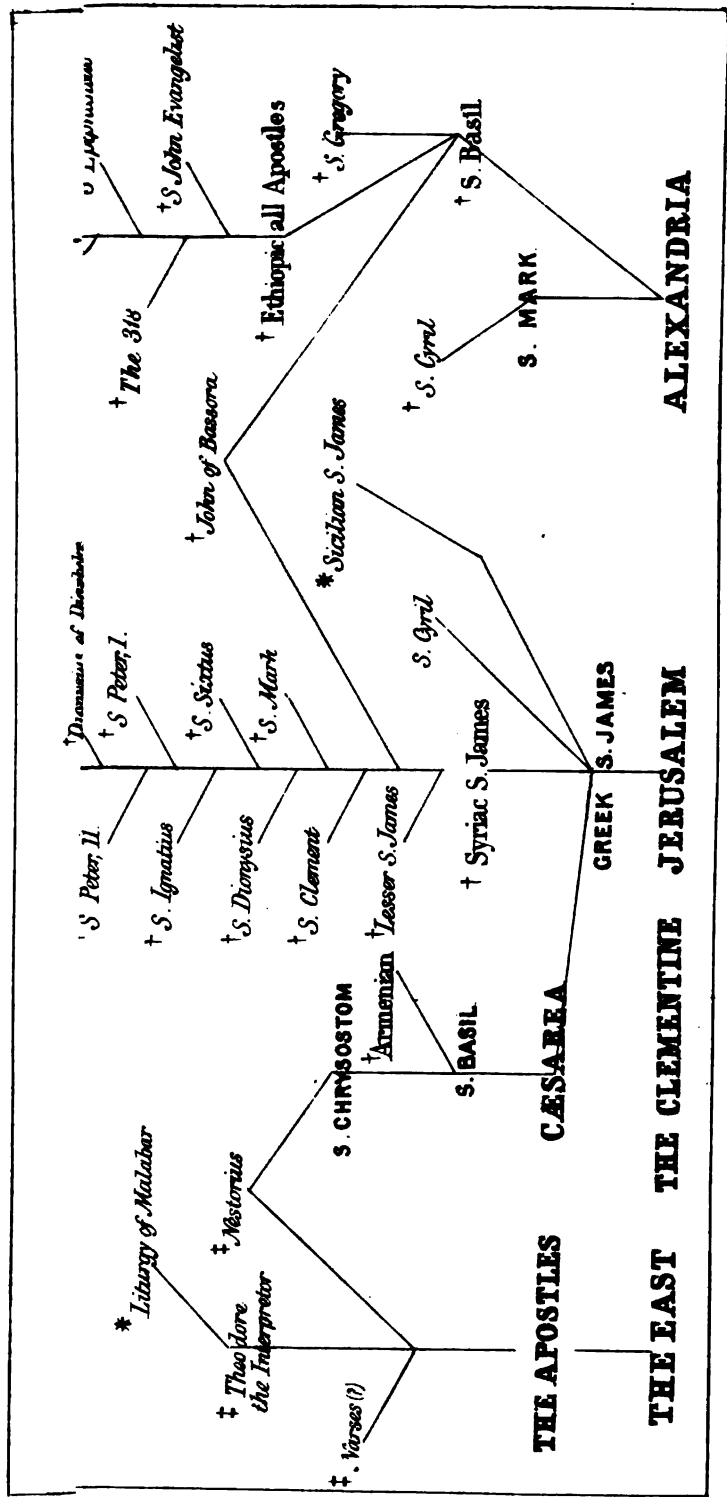
HOLY EASTERN CHURCH.

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ECQUID VERISIMILE EST UT TOT AC TANTI IN UNAM FIDEM ERRAVERINT? CETERUM QUOD APUD MULTOS UNUM INVENTITUR, NON EST ERRATUM SED TRADITUM. AUDEAT ERGO ALIQUIS DICERE, ILLOS ERRAVIT, QUI TRADIDERUNT?
TERTULLIAN. *de Præscript. con. Hære.*, cap. 29.

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CHAPTER I.

GENERAL CLASSIFICATION OF EASTERN LITURGIES.

1. In endeavouring to treat compendiously so vast a subject as the Liturgies of the Oriental Church, it will be better to class them in the three great families into which they naturally divide themselves, rather than to arrange them according to any other division. I might indeed treat separately of heretical and orthodox offices, but I should gain little by such a plan, as, except in some few marked phrases, and often not even in these, the Nestorian or Jacobite are as orthodox as Catholic rites.

2. It is usually held that the whole body of Eastern and Western Liturgies may be divided into four branches; the Roman, the Gallican, that of Alexandria, and that of Jerusalem; the Clementine, though entirely differing from these, can hardly be classed as a separate family, since it never was used by any Church, and never produced any offshoots. I shall endeavour presently, however, to shew that a fifth Liturgical family, which may be denominated that of the East, or of Persia, or of Edessa, exists, in a corrupted state, in the present offices of the Nestorians. The three grand Oriental divisions, therefore, will be, that of Jerusalem, or of S. James; that of Alexandria, or of S. Mark; and that of Edessa, or of S. Thaddæus.

3. From the first of these, the Liturgy of S. James, are derived, on the one hand, the forty Syro-Jacobite offices, on the other, the Cæsarean office, or Liturgy of S. Basil, with its offshoots, that of S. Chrysostom, and the Armeno-Gregorian; from the second, or that of S. Mark, the cognate

Coptic and Æthiopic forms; from the third, or that of Persia, the Nestorian Liturgy of the Apostles, and, with some additions from that of Constantinople, the offices of Nestorius, and of Theodore the Interpreter.

4. Of the normal Liturgies, those of S. James and of S. Mark were used by the Churches of Antioch and Alexandria respectively, till the time of Theodore Balsamon. This Prelate was a complete Oriental Ultramontane; every thing was to be judged by, and squared to, the rule of Constantinople; the Bellarmine or Orsi of the Eastern Church, he was for abolishing every formulary not adopted by the Œcumenical Patriarch; and endeavoured successfully to intrude the forms of Constantinople on the whole East. Consulted by Mark of Alexandria as to the degree of authority which attached to the Liturgies of S. James and S. Mark, he wholly condemns them, as not mentioned by Holy Scripture or the Canons; but chiefly, "because," says he, "the Catholic Church of the most holy Œcumenical Throne of Constantinople does in no wise acknowledge them." The way in which Balsamon treats these offices, more venerable than his own, and that in which Rome has abrogated the Gallican and Mozarabic Missals, are surely marvellously alike. From that time, the Constantinopolitan Liturgies of S. Basil and S. Chrysostom have prevailed over the whole Orthodox East, except that the office of S. James is used in the Church of Jerusalem, and in some of the Islands of the Archipelago, on the festival of that Apostle.

5. It is beyond the scope of the present work to discuss the date of the Liturgies of S. James, S. Mark, S. Clement, S. Basil, and S. Chrysostom, which have been canvassed with so much ardour since the controversies opened by the Reformation. I could add nothing to the stores of learning lavished on this question by Renaudot, Bona, Schulting, Le Brun, Le Quien, Grancolas, Sala, and others; nor could I exhibit the results of their researches in a clearer and more concise manner than has been done by Mr. Palmer, in the Introductory Dissertation to his *Origines Liturgicæ*; though, in some few particulars of minor importance, I might differ from his conclusions.

6. I shall content myself, therefore, with assuming, (1.) that these Liturgies, though not composed by the Apostles whose names they bear, were the legitimate developement of their unwritten tradition respecting the Christian Sacrifice; the words, probably, in the most important parts, the general tenor, in all portions, descending unchanged from the apostolic authors. (2.) That the Liturgy of S. James is of earlier date, as to its main fabric, than A.D. 200; that the Clementine office is at least not later than 260; that the Liturgy of S. Mark is nearly coeval with that of S. James; while those of S. Basil and S. Chrysostom are to be referred respectively to the Saints by whom they purport to be composed. In all these cases several manifest insertions and additions do not alter the truth of the general statement.

7. But with respect to the Liturgy of Persia, I feel bound to speak more at length, because it is generally passed over as of very inferior importance, and Renaudot alone seems to have been prepared to acknowledge, in some degree, its great antiquity.

8. It will be necessary to observe, in the first place, that all Oriental Liturgies are divided into two portions, that preceding, and that following, the *Sursum Corda*; the proanaphoral part, and the anaphora. In every Liturgical family there is one Liturgy, (or at most two,) which supplies the former or proanaphoral portion to all the others; and such Liturgies we may call the normal offices of that family; the others, both in MSS. and printed editions, commence with 'The Prayer of the Kiss of Peace,' the preface to the anaphora. Thus, though in the present chapter I shall have occasion to mention some sixty Liturgies, i. e. anaphoræ, we shall not find above twelve offices which contain a separate proanaphoral portion. I now proceed to a consideration of the Liturgies of the East, or the Nestorians.

9. There are three of these; that of the Apostles S. Adæus and S. Maris, that of Nestorius, and that of Theodore the Interpreter. Now that of Nestorius is, in part, older than the Council of Ephesus, (A.D. 431,) for it is certain that after that period the Nestorians would not have adopted any rite from Constantinople. But either from that, or from the

Liturgy of S. Basil, one remarkable expression is derived; after the prayer of invocation, or the petition that the bread and wine may, by the operation of the HOLY GHOST, become the Body and Blood of our LORD JESUS CHRIST, the Cæsarean and Constantinopolitan rites add, what is unknown to that of S. James, "changing them by the HOLY GHOST." This occurs in no other form but the Armenian, and therefore proves that as that, so the Nestorian, must have been derived from Constantinople, i. e. must have a groundwork earlier than 431. More especially is this the case in the expression I have just quoted, because the views of the Nestorians respecting the Holy Eucharist have been, since the time of the arch-heretic to the present day, lamentably low, and therefore never would have led them to use the phrase mentioned above, unless there had been some strong influence in its favour. Once let this be granted, that the framework of the Liturgy of Nestorius is of the date I have just assigned to it, and it matters not, for my argument, how much, in the lapse of ages, it has been altered. Now it is certain that when the Nestorians, after their condemnation in the Council of Ephesus, and subsequently by the Emperor, sought, in great numbers, an asylum in Persia, they must have found a Liturgy of some sort established there. And there is every appearance that the Liturgy of the Apostles, as we now have it, was, to all intents and purposes, that form.

10. For the office of Nestorius borrows from it the pro-anaphoral portion; and therefore it follows that, in the earlier part of the fifth century, the Liturgy of the Apostles was of old established use in the East. Its very name of S. Adæus (or S. Thaddæus) shews its Persian origin; strangers would never have so called it, nor if they had, could they have imposed on the inhabitants of that country a form of which they had never heard, under the name of the Illuminators of that region. And we find that since the second century, and the Episcopate of Schahlufa, the Catholicate of Seleucia had been able to hold but little intercourse with the Christians of the Roman Empire; they must therefore either have had the Liturgy of S. James, and after the time of their separation have rejected it, and formed another office

from their own fancy; or they must have had a primitive Liturgy from their own Apostles, to which they steadfastly clung. But is it likely that this change could have taken place, when a great school, like that of Edessa, existed, ready to notice and to condemn it? Is it likely that no expressions of an unsound nature should have been inserted in the substituted offices, shadowing forth the heterodox belief of its compilers, on the subject of the Incarnation? Yet the Liturgy of the Apostles has not a taint of Nestorianism, though (and it is worthy of notice) that of Nestorius has. Is it likely that had such a total change of Liturgy taken place among the Christians of the far East, it should never have been cast in their teeth by the opponents of Nestorianism?

11. Again, the Liturgy of the Apostles differs far more widely (as we shall hereafter see) from the other Liturgical families, than any of them from each other. It bears every mark of the remotest age; it is simple, stern, entirely unlike the pompous effusions of later writers, and, from its structure, evidently incapable of being derived from any amplification or change of the offices of Cæsarea or Jerusalem. Compare this with the Liturgies of another isolated Church, the Ethiopian; *that* has developed the normal Liturgy of Copto-Jacobite S. Basil into a strange arabesque work of conceits. Why should not the Persians have done the same to their own normal rite, if they had any besides that which they now possess? In one word, why should the East have rejected its primitive Liturgy? Why, if it did, should it not, in the new form, have symbolized its doctrinal errors? How could it preserve the severe simplicity of primitive times? Why was it never taunted with the change?

12. The only objection which has been urged against the primitive antiquity of the Nestorian Liturgy, is thus stated by Mr. Palmer: "Ephraem Syrus, who lived at Edessa, the very centre of Apostolical preaching, before the rise of Nestorianism, gives an account of the Liturgy, which is totally at variance with all the Nestorian Liturgies. The three Nestorian Liturgies concur in placing the general prayers for all men *before* the Invocation of the HOLY GHOST; while

the ancient prayers of Edessa, as described by Ephraem Syrus, placed the general prayers *after* the Invocation of the HOLY GHOST."

13. To this there are two very easy answers. The first is that, granting Mr. Palmer's statement correct, it by no means proves the point. The change of the *place* of a prayer was no unusual occurrence in Liturgies; thus, in the present Roman Mass, prayer is not made for the departed till after the consecration; in the Gelasian Sacramentary, it was made before. Are the two offices, therefore, to all intents and purposes, not the same? So in the Church of Constantinople, at least as late as A.D. 536^a, the diptychs preceded consecration; they now follow it; yet the Liturgy of that time and of this is almost word for word the same. This is just a parallel case to that which we are considering.

14. But, in truth, the words of S. Ephraem by no means imply that the general intercession, in his time, followed the Invocation. He says^b, "The Priesthood soars boldly to heaven from earth, until it beholds the Invisible Himself; and falls down and prays to the LORD for His servants, carrying the tears and groans of its fellow-servants, and presenting them fervently to its own Master; in the same way also supplication and prayer, asking forgiveness, and pity, and mercy from the merciful King; that the HOLY GHOST, the Paraclete, may descend, and may sanctify the gifts proposed^c upon the earth, and when oblation is made of the fearful mysteries, full of immortality, through the pre-

^a As is clear from the acts of the Council holden under Mennas, in that year, in the fifth session. See also Arevalus, in Lit. Mozarab., p. 1354. not in Col. 543. l. 23.

^b Ed. Asseman, tom. iii. p. 2: ἡ δὲ ἱερουσόνη ἐπαρρησιασμένη ὀψιτερεῖ ἀπὸ γῆς εἰς οὐρανὸν, ἕως ἂν θεωρήσῃ Αὐτὸν τὸν Ἀριστὸν καὶ προσκυνήσασα εἰχεται ἐπὶ τῶν δοῦλων πρὸς τὸν Δεσπότην, βαστάζουσα δάκρυα καὶ στεναγμούς τῶν συνδούλων, καὶ προσφέρονσα θερμῶς τῇ Ἱδίᾳ Δεσπότην ὁμοίως παρέκλῃσιν ἕνα καὶ μετένοιαν αἰτούσα συγχώρησιν καὶ

ἔλεον καὶ ὀίκτον τῷ ἐσπλάγγχνῳ βασιλεῖ, ὅπως τὸ Παρέκλητον Πνεῦμα συγκατέλθῃ, καὶ ἀγάσῃ δῶρα, τὰ ἐν τῇ γῇ προκείμενα. καὶ ὅτ' ἂν προσκομισθῇ Μυστήρια φαερὰ, πλήρης (i.e. πλήρη) ἀθανασίας, διὰ τοῦ προσεστώτος ἱερέως ποιούντος πρεσβείαν ὑπὲρ πάντων, τότε δὴ προσέρχεται ψυχὰι, κ. τ. λ.

^c It will not, I hope, be considered an affectation to use the word *proposed* in the sense of *proposita*, both here and elsewhere, as, in translations, an unwieldy paraphrase will be thus avoided.

siding Priest, who makes prayer for all, then souls come forward, receiving purification of their sins through the fearful Mysteries." Now I contend that the sentence which speaks of the Priest falling down and praying to the LORD for His servants, is much more likely to refer to the general intercession than is the vague expression, "who makes prayer for all." I may observe also, that the presentation of the tears and groans of the servants of God agrees very well with the actual tenor of the Nestorian intercession, as it now stands; while, after the Invocation of the HOLY GHOST, there is a short prayer for all, which is perhaps referred to by S. Ephraem. The words of that Father, then, so far as they tell either way, are in accordance with the view I have taken.

15. On the whole, I conclude that the primitive Liturgy of the East, not more changed in that of the Apostles than those of Alexandria and Jerusalem in the present offices of S. James and S. Mark, except in the one fact of the words of institution having been, as we shall see, omitted, is one of the earliest, and perhaps the very earliest, of the many formularies of the Christian Sacrifice. Having said thus much in vindication of the antiquity of this rite, I proceed to a brief review of the various members of all the Liturgical families.

16. The Alexandrine family contains four Liturgies; S. Mark, which is the normal form, S. Basil, S. Cyril, S. Gregory; and has an offshoot in the Ethiopic Canon.

Of S. MARK's^d Liturgy, which was the rite of the Orthodox Church of Alexandria, I have already spoken. The other three are used by the Monophysites. S. BASIL is the normal and usual form; S. Gregory is employed in Lent; S. Cyril on festivals^e. Alexandrian Canonists teach that the first and third are more immediately directed to GOD the FATHER, the second to GOD the SON: an observation which bears the air of a late discovery. Gabriel-ebn-Tarik^f in his Synodal Constitutions forbade the use of any other than these three forms, till it should have been approved by the Patriarch.

^d I shall henceforth distinguish the normal forms in this chapter by small capitals.

^e Abu'lberkat, 29.

^f Auct. Scient. Ecclesiast. 85. ap. Renaud. Or. Lit. 170.

Why the first of these Liturgies bears the name of S. BASIL, I shall not attempt to decide: Renaudot, in his laborious explanation, has only confounded confusion. It is not possible now to discover its origin, though it would appear to have been originally Catholic; to have been translated from the Greek into Coptic, and thence, after many ages, into Arabic. The part preceding the Anaphora in this Liturgy is so remarkable, that I shall present it in the proper place to my readers; with the explanation which Renaudot has drawn of its rubrics from Abu'lberkat, Abusebah, Gabriel III., and others^a. The Liturgy of S. Cyril is to all intents and purposes the same as that of S. MARK: and it seems highly probable, that the Liturgy of S. Mark came, as we have it now, from the hands of S. Cyril: or, to use the expression of Abu'lberkat, that Cyril 'perfected' it¹. And both in that, and in the office of S. Gregory, which contains nothing remarkable, the first part is taken from the normal Liturgy of S. BASIL.

17. The Ethiopic Canon, or Liturgy of ALL APOSTLES, the normal form of that degraded Church, is an amplification and corruption of S. Cyril. There are nine other different forms, all apparently derived from the Canon, which it will be sufficient to name.

1. Our LORD JESUS CHRIST.

2. S. Mary. This was written by Kyriacus, Bishop of Behnese.

These two, together with the Canon, were printed at the end of the Ethiopic New Testament, which appeared at Rome in 1548, and was edited by an Ethiopic Archimandrite, called Tesfa-Sion.

4. Dioscorus: published in Ethiopic and Latin by Wansleb, London, 1661.

5. The Fathers of Nicæa.

6. S. Epiphanius.

7. S. James of Serug.

8. S. John Chrysostom.

9. S. Gregory.

^a Hist. Alex. ii. 248.

¹ Lit. Or. i. xxxvi.

¹ Renaudot, i. 171.

These last five have never been published: Renaudot had seen them, but he tells us, and we may believe him, that a study of the Ethiopic Canon sufficiently acquaints us with the spirit of all the minor Ethiopic Liturgies.

18. The Liturgical family which we may call the Hierosolymitan, is by far the largest. The original rite is the Greek office of S. JAMES, probably, as I have said, one of the oldest now extant. It is still said in many churches of Greece on the 23rd of October, which is, in the Eastern Church, the Festival of S. James. From this Greek Liturgy there are three sets of offshoots.

19. The first of these is the Cæsarean branch. S. BASIL'S Liturgy is a recast of S. JAMES', as S. CHRYSOSTOM'S is an abbreviation and new edition of S. Basil's. From S. Basil's sprang the ARMENO-GREGORIAN rite, as at present used; while S. CHRYSOSTOM'S exercised an influence on the later forms of the Nestorians. Circumstances have rendered the Constantinopolitan rites, as I have already said, sole possessors of the Orthodox East. The Liturgy of S. Basil is said on all Sundays in Lent, except Palm Sunday, on Maundy Thursday, Easter Eve, the Vigil of Christmas and the Epiphany, and the feast of S. Basil, (*Jan. 1.*) That of S. Chrysostom is appropriated to every other day in the year. The latter, in the Euchologies, invariably precedes the former; and serves as, *de facto*, its normal form.

20. The second offshoot of S. JAMES is of far less importance. It embraces but two offices: the Sicilian Liturgy¹, which was first published, though in a very imperfect state, by Asseman: the other named from S. Cyril, which was never used widely, and of which it is impossible to say where it was employed. The Sicilian Liturgy differs principally from that of S. James in amplification: though it contains a remarkable explanation of the prayers *for* Saints offered by the Eastern Church at the Altar, and seems intended to approximate to the then received Latin doctrine. Of this I shall speak more in its

¹ This Liturgy was discovered in a library at Messina, by a Basilian Monk, Benedict Monaldini, by him communicated to Asseman, and by him in-

serted with a very careless translation in the second part of the fourth book of his Codex Liturgicus.

place. The date of this Liturgy¹ is earlier than 984. The office of S. Cyril is variously argued to have been merely one of the numerous Syro-Jacobite Liturgies, or the rite of some Orthodox Church dependent on Jerusalem. I incline to the latter opinion¹.

21. The third offshoot of the Hierosolymitan office is the SYRIAC Liturgy of S. JAMES, and its dependents. It differs verbally from the Greek office of the same name, from which it is derived. The prayers are, generally speaking, rather shorter; though the Invocation of the HOLY GHOST is much amplified. It is remarkable for having two pro-anaphoral forms, both comparatively late and valueless: and these are the norms of all the Syro-Jacobite Liturgies.

22. The principal Syro-Jacobite Liturgies are as follow. The first twenty-six are arranged according to their probable date; the remainder, which cannot be so classed, follow without order.

(1.) *S. Sixtus, Bishop of Rome.* This², in the Syriac Missal

¹ Which is thus proved. In the ectene which immediately follows the Creed, prayer is made for Nicolas, Elias, Benedict, Agapius, and Orestes, evidently as at that time the occupants of the five Patriarchal Thrones. Now Nicolas II., Chrysoberges, sat at Constantinople from 983 to 995, (Le Quien, Or. Christ. i. 256,) Elias at Alexandria, as I have elsewhere shewn, towards the end of the 10th century, (Hist. Alex. ii. 190,) Agapius II. at Antioch, from 985 to an uncertain period, (Le Quien, ii. 753,) S. Orestes, or Jeremiah, at Jerusalem, from 984 till he suffered martyrdom in 1011, (Le Quien, iii. 480,) Benedict VII. at Rome, from 975 to 984. Now, according to the common chronologies, these five Patriarchs never actually sat together, because Benedict was dead before Agapius was elected: but, if we allow that the accession of the latter is misplaced one year, as in the uncertainty of the mediæval chronology of Antioch

it very well might be, 984 will suit exactly. We may remark that the degradation of Benedict VII. to the third place is very singular.

² Renaudot has printed it among his Syro-Jacobite Liturgies, (Or. Lit. ii. 275.) Asseman has given it in his *Missale Hierosolymitanum*, p. 155, but without assigning any good reasons for putting it there. The arguments which induce me to think that it is not a Syro-Jacobite Liturgy are, 1. The omission of the exclamation, invariably assigned by those offices to the Deacon, immediately before the Invocation of the HOLY GHOST, "How tremendous is this hour!" &c. 2. The breaking up of the great intercessory prayer by the recitation of six Canons, i.e. Diptychs, by the Deacon, which does not occur in the other Syro-Jacobite Liturgies, though recognised by Dionysius Barsalibi.

³ Asseman, B. O. i. 431. Published by Renaudot, Lit. Or. ii. 134.

edited at Rome, and containing fourteen Liturgies, was made the norm of the others, but without any authority. The office seems to have been composed during the struggle which intervened between the Council of Chalcedon, and the final triumph of Orthodoxy, and to have been dignified with the name of a Pope by its composer, for the purpose of strengthening his faction. This is one of the Liturgies in which the words of institution are omitted.

(2, 3.) *S. Peter*^a. Two Liturgies, probably composed with the same design. They would appear to be of more recent date than *S. Sixtus*. In the second the words of institution are now omitted. They are to be distinguished from the Liturgy of *S. Peter*, published by *Joannes a S. Andrea*, which is merely a cento from the office of *S. Chrysostom*, and the Roman Missal. A probable reason why more than one rite borrows its name from *S. Peter*, may be found in his being venerated as the founder of the Church of Antioch. It is possible that the notorious Peter the Fuller might be, as would be likely, the author of one of them.

(4.) *James of Botna*^o. This Bishop^p was the favourite disciple of Severus of Antioch; his see was Botna, or Serug in Osrhoene, where he died A.D. 522. From the number and learning of his writings, he is known among the Jacobites by the name of the Doctor; and some have even imagined that sect to be called from him. The Liturgy, which is rather long, contains nothing remarkable, and may possibly be the composition of its nominal author.

(5.) *Thomas of Heraclea*^a. This Divine was Bishop of Mabug and Germanicia, and flourished about 616^r. It is remarkable for its acrostichal arrangement; and for the formula of institution. The latter embraces both the Bread

(new Ed.) Sala's conjecture that there might have been a Sixtus, Bishop of Constantinople, 'New Rome,' who composed this Liturgy, is easily disposed of by the observation, that there might have been, but there never was.

^a Published by Renaudot, ii. 145.

^o Published by Renaudot, ii. 356.

^p Asseman, B. O. 1.

^a Published by Renaudot, ii. 383. This Liturgy is also called from Thomas Giarmachita, Asseman, ii. 92; Edenensis, vii. 26.

^r Renaudot does not know who this Thomas was, and misplaces him after James of Edessa.

and Wine in one chalice, and sums the express words, "This is My Body," &c.

6. *John of Bastra*¹. Bastra, the ancient Bastra, on the Tigris, was the See of this Prelate, who sat there from A.D. 617—651. The Liturgy bearing his name is probably of later date. It is curious, as aligning itself in some degree, to the Coptic-Jacobite rites: and probably had its origin in the northern parts of Arabia, which will account both for its name and peculiarities.

7. *S. John Evangelist*². This Liturgy appears to be of some age: if we may hazard a conjecture, it was very probably the composition of John I., surnamed of Sidra, a great promoter of the Jacobite faith, who sat from A.D. 631—649.

8. *James of Edessa*. This Prelate, another celebrated Jacobite Doctor³, was Bishop of Edessa from A.D. 684—708⁴. The Liturgy is very probably his composition; and contains a bitter complaint of Mahometan tyranny.

9. *John of Dara*, 725. Of this and the next nothing is known.

(10.) *Cyriacus*. Patriarch of Antioch, 758.

(11.) *S. John Chrysostom II*. This is otherwise, and with greater probability, named from John of Harran. It was very probably John I., who was consecrated Bishop of that See about A.D. 735, and afterwards elevated, by unfair means, to the Patriarchate, in A.D. 741⁵.

(12.) *Dioscorus*⁶. This Liturgy appears to have been composed in the eighth century, by the opportunity which it takes of insisting on the SAVIOUR's real and not phantastical Nativity: in opposition to the dreams of the Julianists and Phantasiasts, who claimed Dioscorus as the founder of their opinion. Some zealous Jacobite seems to have taken this method of vindicating his master's memory.

¹ Published by Renaudot, ii. 420.

The Liturgy is published by Renaudot,

² Published by Renaudot, ii. 163; and by Asseman, B. O. iii. 637.

ii. 370.

³ Asseman (B. O. i. 292) and Sala (i. 172) are very anxious to make this

⁴ According to Abu'lfaraj. According to Dionysius, from 677—710.

James of Edessa a Catholic writer.

⁵ Asseman, B. O. ii. 507.

⁶ Published by Renaudot, ii. 285.

(13.) *Philoxenus of Bagdad*^a. This Prelate is otherwise called Lazarus Bar-Sapta, and is the first Bishop of Bagdad (founded 762) of whom we have any notice. His character seems to have been a doubtful one: for in the year 829 he was deposed, on which he appealed to Almamon the Caliph, by whom the sentence was confirmed. The Liturgy is no wise remarkable.

(14.) *Moses Bar-Cepha*^a. He was Bishop of Bethchino^b near Mosul, where he died, Feb. 12, 903^c. It is a long Liturgy; but not without its beauty, especially in the intercessory portion.

(15.) *The Holy Doctors*, arranged by John the Great. This is a cento from celebrated Jacobite Divines^d: in order thus; Philoxenus, James of Serug, S. James, S. Cyril, S. John Evangelist, S. James again, S. Cyril, S. Ignatius, Twelve Apostles, S. Ignatius again, Philoxenus again, S. Clement, Lazarus, S. Dionysius, S. Cyril again, S. Julius, S. Dionysius, Lazarus, S. James, S. Ignatius. It is not certain who this John the Great was; the only thing clear about him is that he must have lived after Philoxenus of Bagdad. He is very probably the same with John VII., Sarighta, (964—985,) who suffered much for his Jacobite tenets, as I have elsewhere related^e.

(16.) *John Barsusan*, Patriarch of Antioch, 1064—1073, wrote two Anaphoræ, one of which has never been published; the other is in the Maronite Missal^f.

(17.) *S. Marutas*^g. This Liturgy has its title from the eminent Prelate of that name, who was sent by Theodosius the Younger on an embassy to Isdegerd, son of Sapor, and who was Bishop of Tagrit, and of Miapherakin, afterwards called Martyropolis, because he translated thither the relics of many of the Martyrs who had confessed CHRIST under Sapor.

^a Asseman, B. O. i. 562; Le Quien, ii. 1571. Published by Renaudot, ii. 399.

^b Published by Renaudot, ii. 390. See also Cave, Hist. Lit. ii. 91.

^c This place is not in our modern maps.

^d Asseman, B. O. ii. 218, 9. Renau-

dot knows nothing of his date.

^e Published by Renaudot, ii. 409.

^f Hist. Alex. ii.

^g P. 154.

^h Published by Renaudot, ii. 260: also in the Maronite Missal, p. 172. See also Asseman, i. 174; Edenensis, ii. 7; Sculting, iii. 106.

It is a very late Liturgy, and probably posterior to A.D. 1100: because it introduces the mention of leavened bread before the words of institution, and because it grievously amplifies those most sacred words themselves.

(18.) *Matthew the Shepherd*^h. This is a very singular little Liturgy; and is probably as late as A.D. 1100, from its express reference to the Azymite controversy. It audaciously, in the words of institution of the Bread, alters *This is My Body* into *This is My Flesh*, and omits *This is My Blood* in that of the Chalice. There seems also, in the Invocation of the HOLY GHOST, a reference to the *Filioque* controversy. The whole term of expression is anomalous throughout; nothing whatever is known of the authorⁱ.

(19.) *John the Scribe*^k, also the *Acœmete*. This seems to have been John the 14th Jacobite Patriarch of that name^l, who was consecrated, under the patronage of Josselin, Count of Edessa, in a Frank church, 1129. This Liturgy is one of the longest of the Jacobite rite.

(20.) *Dionysius Barsalibi*^m. One of the great lights of Jacobite Theology. He was Bishop of Germanicia in 1154; of Mabug, 1155; and translated to Amid or Diarbekr in 1167, where he died 1171. His Liturgy, which is very short, is very valuable, as shewing what were the ideas of a great theologian of his time on the subject: but it does not contain the words of institution: though in his writings, Barsalibi mentions them as spoken by the Priest in the Person of CHRIST.

(21.) *Michael of Antioch*ⁿ. This Bishop was the first Jaco-

^h Published by Renaudot, ii. 346: also in the Maronite Missal, p. 146. In a MS. in the Vatican, it is also ascribed to "Hermas, one of the Seventy."

ⁱ Asseman (B. O. ii. Dissert. de Monophysit.) and Edenensis (ii. 6) think that he may have been the same with Matthew, surnamed the Shepherd, Patriarch of the Hassassinites.

^k Published by Renaudot, ii. 472.

^l He was Abbot of Duair: which may be the same place as Dura, where

Nebuchadnezzar's golden image was set up, (for Xenophon speaks of it as a level plain, Cyrop. i. 4,) and where Gordian was buried, (Ammian. Marcell. 23. 5.) It is a little to the south of Kerkesiah and on the Euphrates.

^m Published by Renaudot, ii. 448: and under the name of S. Dionysius the Areopagite, in the Maronite Missal, p. 106. Barsalibi wrote two other Liturgies, which do not appear to have been printed.

ⁿ Published by Renaudot, ii. 437.

bite Patriarch of that name, and sat from 1166—1199. I have elsewhere alluded to him as engaged in the great confessional controversy of the Copto-Jacobites°. He wrote a work on Preparation to the Communion, which is said to be excellent. The only remarkable feature of his Liturgy is that it is acrostichal.

(22.) *John Bar-Maadn*^p, the fifteenth Jacobite Patriarch of that name, or rather Anti-patriarch, was made Maphrian 1232, Patriarch Dec. 4, 1253, and died in Lent 1263. He seems to have been a worthless man, and has left a very prolix Liturgy, in the worst taste of the times.

(23.) *Gregory Abu'lfaraj*^q, Maphrian of the East. The greatest Divine whom the Jacobites ever possessed. He was born in 1226, and died in 1286, after composing thirty-one very valuable works on theology and history. His Liturgy is immensely prolix, but in better taste than the usual run of the mediæval offices of the Jacobites.

(24.) *Dioscorus of Cardou*^r. This Prelate was Bishop of an island in the Tigris, twelve miles above Mosul, and principally inhabited by Christians. It is variously called Gozarta-Cardou, that is, the Island of Cardon, Gezira, Gezerat-ebn-Omar, Bezabde^s, Zabdicene^t. This Dioscorus was consecrated Nov. 25, 1285. His Liturgy is of that immense length, that it could hardly be said in four hours, and is probably the most prolix ever composed. It deviates from the usual practice of the Syro-Jacobites, in calling S. Peter, and not S. James, the prince of Apostles.

(25.) *Ignatius*^u, or *Nicholas Bar-Wahib*. The fifth Jacobite Patriarch of that name; was made Bishop of Marde, when he took the name of Joseph, and raised to the Patriarchate Jan. 1, 1293, when he assumed that of Ignatius, which has ever since been taken by his successors. He died April 19, 1333, and seems to have been a respectable divine; but his

• Hist. Alex. ii. 264 &c. Renaudot makes him to have been Michael commonly called the Younger, about twenty years later: which, however, does not agree with the series of Egyptian events.

^p Published by Renaudot, ii. 508;

Edenensis, vii. 7.

^q Published by Renaudot, ii. 455.

^r Published by Renaudot, ii. 502.

^s Amm. Marcell. 20. 15.

^t S. Hieronym. Chron. ad xi. ann. Constantis; Le Quien, ii. 1579.

^u Published by Renaudot, ii. 524.

Liturgy must be characterised in the same terms as the two preceding.

(26.) *The lesser S. James*. This is an abbreviation of the Syriac S. James, composed about the year 1591, by Gregory, Maphrian of the East. The reason of such an abbreviation may be thus briefly stated. It was the custom to celebrate the Holy Eucharist before the administration of any other Sacrament; and it might thus happen, owing to the immense length of the prayers, that a sick child, waiting for baptism, died, before the previous Liturgy could be concluded. Compendiums were therefore much in vogue: and the rubrics themselves order that, in case of necessity, all prayers, not absolutely requisite, be omitted. But the ignorance of Priests did not always distinguish what was essential from what was non-essential; and hence the use of an authorised short form^v. Renaudot tells us^x that he himself saw Elias of Bagdad, when celebrating after the rite of the Maronites, turn over three or four pages together for brevity's sake.

(27.) *The Holy Apostles*^y. This is also called from S. Luke; perhaps because the words of institution are given from that Evangelist.

(28.) *S. Mark*^z. This has nothing in common with the Alexandrine Liturgy, and was perhaps simply called by the name of the Evangelist out of compliment to the Church which he founded; there being, as we have elsewhere shewn, so great an alliance between the Syrian and Egyptian Jacobites.

(29.) *S. Clement of Rome*^a. A late and very prolix Liturgy.

(30.) *S. Dionysius the Areopagite*^b. The works which go under the name of this Saint have always been held in great es-

^v There is a difficulty about the date of this Liturgy. In 1591, Elias, not Gregory, was Maphrian, (Assem. B. O. ii. 300; Le Quien, ii. 1539.) But we find that, in 1584, Gregory Karkari was Syro-Jacobite Metropolitan of Jerusalem, (Renaudot, Lit. Or. ii. 132,) though he is not mentioned by Le Quien; and this theologian might possibly have been promoted to the

Maphrianate at a subsequent period, and with a change of name.

^x Lit. Or. ii. 153.

^y Published by Renaudot, ii. 170.

^z Published by Renaudot, ii. 176.

^a Published by Renaudot, ii. 186.

^b Edenensis de Cathol. Anaph. Auctar, cap. i. Published by Renaudot, ii. 201.

teem by the Jacobites: by whom indeed they were first quoted, in the conference of Constantinople, A.D. 532. This partiality may account for the name. This Liturgy has, as we shall hereafter see, an imperfection in the words of institution.

(31.) *S. Ignatius*. A very late and prolix Liturgy^c.

(32.) *S. Julius*^d. Probably of considerable antiquity, if we may trust the brevity and simplicity of its style. There were certain pretended Epistles of Pope S. Julius, which were quoted by the Jacobites in support of their doctrine: hence perhaps the name.

(33.) *S. Eustathius of Antioch*^e. Another valuable Liturgy. It is probably anterior to A.D. 500. It is unique in the formula of institution, agreeing with the Roman in alone employing the words, *This is My Body*, without any addition of *which is given for you*.

(34.) *S. John Chrysostom I.*^f This is a late Liturgy, and rather anomalous in the Invocation. It is very much posterior to the age of S. Julius, because it commemorates that Pope among the Doctors of the Church.

(35.) *S. Basil*. Sometimes called *S. Basil and S. Gregory*. A late Liturgy, but good of its kind. From its version by Andrew Masius, it was well known to Western scholars while most of the preceding Liturgies were yet in MS.

(36, 37.) *Philoxenus of Mabug or Hierapolis*^g. This infamous man was consecrated Bishop of Mabug by Peter the Fuller, after A.D. 485, though he is said not to have been baptized^h. His zeal in the propagation of Jacobite doctrines has caused him to be reckoned among the Saints of that sect. The first of these two Liturgies is the best and the oldest; the other, a sadly inflated specimen of mediæval taste in the East.

(38.) *Severus*ⁱ, otherwise called *Timothy of Alexandria*. It was to be expected that so celebrated a Jacobite Doctor as

^c Published by Renaudot, ii. 214.

^d Published by Renaudot, ii. 226.

^e Published by Renaudot, ii. 234; and, in a mutilated form, in the Maronite Missal.

^f Published by Renaudot, ii. 242.

^g Published by Renaudot, ii. 300. The first is also called from Simeon the Persian.

^h Assem. B. O. ii. 10; Le Quien, O. C. ii. 928.

ⁱ Renaudot, ii. 320.

Severus should have a Liturgy ascribed to him. It is very prolix, but apparently of respectable antiquity.

(39.) *James Baradaeus*^k. This appears a late Liturgy. It is very possible that both this, and the others named after Jacobite Saints, were simply intended to be used on their festivals: and in accordance with that theory James himself is commemorated in the present office. I need not again observe that he was the famous heresiarch, from whom, in all probability, the Jacobite sect derives its name. One reason inclines me to think that Baradaeus was really the author of this composition; that in commemorating the Jacobite Doctors, it takes occasion to deny the Orthodox doctrine, which a zealot like Baradaeus would very probably do, but which is very unusual in Jacobite Liturgies.

(40.) *John Maro*^l. This has not been published, and its date is uncertain.

(41.) *Eleazar of Babylon*^m. It is not absolutely certain that this is not the same Liturgy with that of Philoxenus of Bagdad; for it has never been published.

With this I conclude the long list of Jacobite Liturgies. I have been able to give a far more definite account of their authors than Renandot, because the labours of Asseman were not accessible to him: yet I cannot but express my admiration of the perseverance, which enabled him, out of such palpable obscurity, to elicit any thing like truth. He is constantly complaining of the darkness of the history of the Jacobite Patriarchs of Antiochⁿ, whereas now nothing is more clearly known than their annals.

23. The third great Liturgical family is, as I have endeavoured to prove, that of the East, now confined to the Nestorians. The normal form is, as we have seen, the Liturgy of the APOSTLES ADÆUS and MARIS. The office of Theodore the Interpreter is a modification of this; and may, I think,

^k Published by Renandot, ii. 332.

^l Cf. Renandot, ii. 342; Asseman, B. O. i. 513.

^m Asseman, B. O. i. 574.

ⁿ E. g. p. 524. Quis Joannes Barmaadni fuerit plane nescimus; quo tempore vixerit ignoratur (I have been en-

abled to give the *day* of his consecration,) cum obscurissima sit Eccl. Jac. Ant. historia, quam qui scriberet, nullus reperitur. So of Ignatius ebn Wahib; qua ætate vixerit designare non possumus: Asseman has enabled me to give the *day* of his consecration and death.

fairly be attributed to that voluminous author. It is used from the first Sunday of the Annunciation, which corresponds to our first Sunday in Advent, to Palm Sunday, and therefore for more than a third part of the year. The Liturgy of Nestorius is a graft of the Constantinopolitan, on the old Eastern, rite, undoubtedly composed by some Nestorian refugee after the Council of Ephesus. It is used on the Epiphany, Easter, the Vigils of S. John the Baptist, and of the Greek Doctors; and the Wednesday of the week called the Supplication of Nineveh.

The *Liturgy of Malabar* was, originally, a Nestorian rite: but it has been so cut to pieces by the censors of Diamper, as to be nearly valueless. Great search was made for an original copy of this office by Dr. Mill, when in India, but without success.

We know of two other Liturgies composed by Nestorians: one bearing the name of *Narses the Leper*^o, the only instance in which a Priest composed a Liturgy; and Barsumas^p. But the first of these, liturgically speaking, is probably of the Syro-Jacobite family.

^o Hebedjesu calls him *the Lyre of the HOLY GHOST*. Sala, i. 175.

^p Hebedjesu in Catalog. 154.

CHAPTER II.

THE OFFICE OF THE PROTHESIS.



CHAPTER II.

THE OFFICE OF THE PROTHESIS.

THE earliest theory of Liturgies recognised three distinct Oblations in the Holy Action. The first, the offertory of Bread and Wine, made by the people to the Priest, which he used as, or from whence he selected, the Holy Gifts for consecration; the second, the oblation of these, by the Priest, on the Altar; the third, the oblation of them after the words of consecration, and before the Communion, the true Sacrifice of the rite. It is true, that the first and second Oblations have now, very generally, been confounded; yet they are, theoretically, easy to be distinguished. The first Oblation is, in the English Church, represented by the Offertory, the second by the prayer for the Church Militant, the third, though woefully misplaced, by that which begins, "O LORD and Heavenly FATHER." In the Byzantine ritual, the first Oblation is represented by the office of Prothesis, the second by the Great Entrance, the third by the exclamation, "In all and for all, we offer Thee Thine own of Thine own." In the Latin office, the first is represented by the *Offertorium*, the second by the prayers, *Suscipe, Sancte Pater*, and *Offerimus, Tibi Domine*, the third by that part of the Canon which commences *Unde et memores*. In the Mozarabic, the first Oblation is set forth by the *Centuplum accipias*^a, the second, originally, by the *Offerunt*^b *Deo Domino oblationem*, (though at present, by the *Acceptabilis sit*, which in the modern disjointed ritual precedes the first,) the third is mixed up in the prayer *Post Pridie* with the invocation of the HOLY GHOST.

^a Tetralog. Liturg., p. 64.

^b Ibid., p. 72.

The only Church which has retained the primitive custom of the people's offering the Bread and Wine for consecration, is that of Milan; where ten bedesmen, named Vecchioni, and two aged women, are maintained^c by the Cathedral for that purpose, two of whom go to the end of the choir, vested in black and white mantles, carrying the Oblations, which are received with great reverence by the Deacon. This, after all, is only an imitation of the primitive custom, as the Oblation is provided, and the offerers pensioned, by the Church. But, curiously enough, in one English church, the use was retained as late as 1638,—Charlton^e in Wiltshire. "There^d was formerly a very odd and inconvenient custom in the said church; namely, that each inhabitant, or at least, householder, made their own provision of Bread and Wine for the Sacrament, and brought the same in several parcels, or divers pottle-pots, bottles, and glasses, to the Table of the Lord." This was put down by Bishop Davenant. In Spain, the same custom, as we learn from Lorenzana, remained till the middle of the eighteenth century. In France, it was long retained in several places, as at Rouen^e, Laon^f, Orleans^g. This offertory was employed, not only for the preparation of the Bread and Wine for the Liturgy, but, when the best had been selected for that purpose, for the maintenance of the Priest.

I shall have occasion in the first dissertation of the fifth book, to prove that such was the primitive custom. That it was very long retained in the Gotho-Hispanic rite is shewn by Arevalus^h. And to it also the office of the Prothesis bears reference; though the custom itself has become in some degree, though not entirely, obsolete in the East. There, originally, the oblations received from the people were prepared for the Altar: and prayer, as will be seen, was afterwards made for "them that offered, and for that for which they offered."

^c Muratori, *Antiq. Ital.* iv. 854; Webb, *Continent. Eccles.*, p. 204.

^d This passage is from a MS. account of the parish of Donhead S. Mary, Wilts., communicated to me by the Rector, the Rev. R. W. Blackmore.

^e De Moleon, *Voyage Liturgique*, p. 285.

^f Bellotti, *Hist. de l'Egl. de Laon*, 485.

^g De Moleon, p. 216.

^h Not. ad Missal. Mozarab., p. 1278.

The Order of Constantinople has been translated by Covel, most wretchedly; that employed in the Russian Church by King. I hope that the notes which I have added will enable the reader to understand more clearly a ceremony, in itself rather obscure.

I have followed the Venice editions of 1839 and 1842.

The proper office of the Prothesis is preceded by the prayers for vesting, which have no necessary connexion with the preparation of the Oblation: and which, having spoken sufficiently of the vestments in the last chapter of the preceding book, I have not here given.

THE ORDER OF THE HOLY PROTHESIS, AS PERFORMED IN
THE GREAT CHURCH, AND THE HOLY MOUNTAIN.

The Priest and Deacon go to the Prothesis¹, and wash their hands², saying³,

I will wash my hands in innocence, O LORD, and so will I go to Thine Altar, *to the end of the Psalm.*

Then they make three adorations before the Prothesis, and each saith,

God be merciful to me a sinner, and have pity upon me.

Thou hast redeemed us from the curse of the Law, by Thy precious Blood, being nailed to the Cross, and wounded with the lance, and didst pour forth streams of immortality¹ to men: glory be to Thee, our SAVIOUR.

¹ i. e. into the chapel of *Ἡσθῆσις*; the name, being the same for both it and the credence, may create confusion.

² In most churches, there is a lavatory for this purpose near to the credence.

³ The antiquity of this rite in the Eastern Church is shewn by S. Cyril, (Catech. Myst. 5.) "Ye have seen the Deacon giving water to the Priest to wash his hands, and to the Presbyters, who surrounded the Altar of God. Did he give it them to the end that the filth of the body might be purged away? I trow not: for we use not to enter

the church polluted with filth. But that cleansing of the hands is a symbol, that we must be made clean from all our sins and iniquities." And of old the custom was, that all who intended to be Communicants should wash their hands. S. Maximus: "All men who propose to communicate first wash their hands."

¹ *Τὴν ἀθανάσιον ἐγγύδα*. Beautifully said, though not in strictly classical Greek: still, *ἐγγύδα* with the cognate accusative *ψάμα* occurs in the Anthologia, 9. 404.

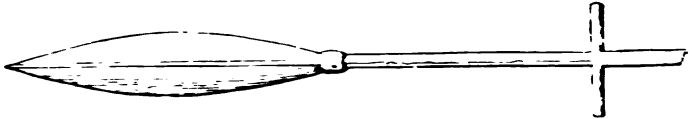
Deacon. Sir, give the blessing.

Priest. Blessed be our God always, now and ever, and to ages of ages. Amen.

*Then the Priest takes
in his left hand the Ob-
lation^m,*



and in his right hand the holy spear,



*and with the spear making the sign of the Cross thrice over
the sealⁿ, saith,*

^m Five small loaves, of the form indicated in the text, are provided in the Prothesis. They are round, symbolically representing, under the shape of a piece of money, the price of our redemption, (Durandus, *l.* 41 :) but each has a square projection rising from it, usually called the Holy Lamb, but sometimes simply the Holy Bread. This in the Greek Church, is stamped with the words, *ΙC XC NIKA*, *JESUS CHRIST conquers*. In the Coptic Church, as I have elsewhere observed, the legend is *Αγνος, Αγνος, Αγνος Κόπος Ζαβεδθ*. (Hist. Alex. ii. 214.) The Oblations, as I shall have occasion to state more at large in another place, are made of leavened flour, the finest and whitest that can be provided; and in some churches, especially conventual, there are ovens for this purpose. The Coptic Canons are still more particular. According to them, the Eucharistic Bread is to be baked no where but in a church, and that only by a man: it must be baked the same day; which is also the Cluniac use; and, in some places, grain by grain is selected, with

the greatest care, by the Priest. The Syrians, besides leaven, mingle also oil and salt; of which I have spoken elsewhere, (Hist. Alex. ii. 214,) and have related the schism which occurred between the Copto- and Syro-Jacobites on this account. The Nestorians employ what they term Holy Leaven, of which the manufacture and history is as obscure as its investigation would be unprofitable. The Armenians, as we shall elsewhere see at length, alone of all the Orientals, use unleavened bread. The Canons as to the degree of perfection necessary in the Oblation, in material, as its perfect freedom from all acidity, in form, as its being unbroken, in substance, as its being properly baked, are almost innumerable. The Egyptian Church is perhaps the most strict; and Peter of Melicha in his Ecclesiastical Answers, Gabriel the Patriarch in his Ritual, and Severus of Aschumin, have dwelt very copiously on the subject.

ⁿ The seal (*σφραγίς*) is, properly speaking, the Cross impressed on the Holy Lamb, and is so to be taken here; (see Goar, note 31; King, less correctly,

In remembrance of our LORD and GOD, and SAVIOUR JESUS CHRIST. *This he saith thrice.*

He then thrusts the spear into the right side of the seal^o, and saith, as he cuts,

He was led as a sheep to the slaughter.

Into the left, saying,

And as a blameless lamb dumb before His shearers, so He opened not His mouth.

Into the upper part, saying,

In His humiliation His judgment was taken away.

Into the lower, saying,

And who shall declare His generation^p?

The Deacon, looking devoutly on this rite, saith, at each incision,

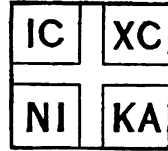
Let us make our supplications to the LORD: *holding his horarion in his hand^a.*

After these things^r, he saith,

Sir, take up.

And the Priest, thrusting the holy spear obliquely into the right side of the Oblation, raises up the holy Bread^s, saying,

For His life is taken away from the earth; [always, now and ever, and to ages of ages.]



'over the Oblation;') but is sometimes used for the thing thus sealed, namely, the Holy Lamb itself, as in what follows.

^o That is, of the Holy Lamb, which he is now going to divide from the rest of the Oblation.

^p Some of the Greek Ritualists, not content with the plain meaning of this symbolical representation of CHRIST'S Sacrifice, have ingeniously contrived to make the rite typical of His Nativity, that they may carry on the whole economy of our salvation to the end of the Liturgy. So S. Germanus, "The Divine Body is laid down in the Prothesis, as once in Bethlehem." And we shall see, as the Service proceeds, how the idea is carried out.

^a The posture, which continually oc-

curs in the Liturgy, can scarcely be understood except from actual sight. The Deacon is now, like S. John Baptist, preaching the Lamb of GOD; or, according to the before-named system of S. Germanus, he represents the Angel saluting the Blessed Virgin at her Annunciation, τὸν ἄγγελον μιμεῖται τὸ χαῖρε τῇ Παρθένῳ προσφθεγγόμενον. In the same way, the separation of the Lamb from the Oblation sets forth, so to speak, the separation of our LORD from His Mother at His birth: ἡ προσφορά . . . εἰς τύπον τῆς ἀειπαρθένου λαμβάνεται τὸ Κυριακὸν Σῶμα, ὡς ἐκ τινὸς κοιλίας . . . τοῦ θλου ἄρτου, φημι, διατέμνεται.

^r The Holy Lamb being now entirely separated from the Oblation.

^s That is, the Lamb.

And layeth it, cross downwards¹, in the holy disk. The Deacon saith,

Sir, sacrifice.

The Priest saith, while he cuts it crosswise,

The Lamb of God is sacrificed, Which taketh away the sin of the world, for the life and salvation of the world.

Then he turns it cross upwards², and the Deacon saith,

Sir, stab³.

And the Priest, piercing the right side⁴ with the holy spear, saith,

One of the soldiers with a spear pierced His Side, and forthwith came thereout Blood and Water: and he that saw it bare record, and his record is true.

The Deacon then pours into the holy chalice, wine⁵ and water⁶, first saying to the Priest,

Sir, bless the Holy Union. And the Priest blesses them.

Then the Priest, taking the second⁷ Oblation⁸, saith,

¹ This is evidently done for convenience, that the softer part of the Bread may be cut by the holy spear: but mystically represents the helplessness of a lamb expiring under the deathblow.

² This is explained of CHRIST'S bearing His Cross. ὁ γὰρ σταυρὸς, says an anonymous writer quoted by Goar, οὐκ ἐκπρόσθεν, ἀλλ' ἐπισθεν τοῦ σώματος τοῦ Κυρίου ἐτέθη καὶ δι' ἐκείνου—i. e. of the Lamb,—καὶ ἐκπρόσθεν τούτου ἐκμφεβόλου δὲ λαοῦ.

³ This speech of the Deacon is omitted, perhaps by mistake, in the Venice edition of 1839, from which I am translating.

⁴ This shews that the Greek Church had the same tradition as the Latin, that our LORD'S wound was on His right side.

⁵ *Wine.* Not classically used in the sense of wine, except with an epithet: as Arist. Eccles. 14. σνός τε, καρπὸς βαυχίοντε νέματος πλῆρες.

⁶ Of this, the first mixture of water with the wine, observed by all the Ori-

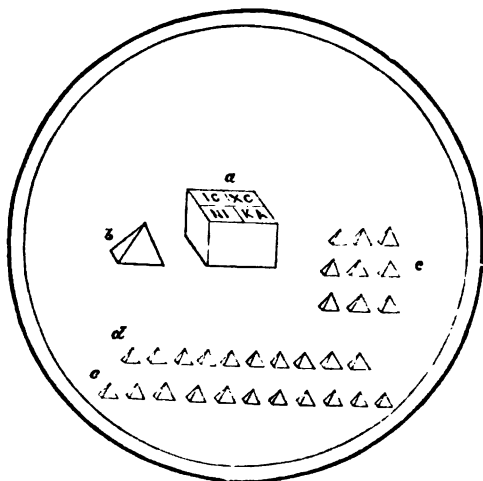
ental Churches except the Armenians, I shall write when I treat of the words of institution.

⁷ I have already said that, according to the present use of the Greek Church, five Oblations are originally set on the Prothesis, probably in commemoration of the miracle of the five loaves. Anciently, indeed, (as we shall see in another place,) the number of Oblations varied with the number of offerers. But, though five be the usual number, and invariable in the Russian Church, (King, 144. n. 3,) yet often in Greece one Oblation only is offered; the portions being taken from the same loaf from which the Holy Lamb has been previously cut. And this not only in small places, but even in the Patriarchal church. (Covel, 31. note i, k.)

⁸ The Venice editions have, and so they had in Goar's time, τὴν πρώτην σφραγίδα, the first seal. The meaning, however, is the same; the Holy Lamb being now reckoned a thing apart

In honour and memory of the most excellent and glorious Lady, the Mother of God and Ever-Virgin Mary, by whose intercessions receive, O LORD, this Sacrifice to Thy heavenly Altar^d.

And taking a portion^c, he places it on the right side^e of the holy Bread near its middle part, saying,



a The Holy Lamb.

b The portion of S. Mary.

c The nine portions of Prophets,

Apostles, Martyrs, &c.

d Portions for the living.

e Portions for the dead.

from the rest, and the four other Oblations counted by themselves.

^d This bears a remarkable similarity to that part in the Latin Canon: "Jube hæc perferri per manus sancti Angeli Tui in sublime Altare Tuum." It is the more strange, therefore, that Cabasilas should have objected to this latter expression, as Mark of Ephesus also subsequently did.

^e This portion, μέρις, is called the Virgin's: and hence perhaps arose the error by which the Greeks were accused of pretending to consecrate it into the Body of S. Mary. The portions are pyramidal pieces of bread, cut out of the Oblation with the holy spear.

^f That is, on the north side, as in the plate. Goar and King have this quite right: Coval charges Goar with a "great blunder," but is wrong himself. Goar, however, says that the rubric, "sets it on the *right* side," ought to be "the *left* side," and that it was so altered to agree with the versicle, "On Thy *right* hand did stand the Queen." But the north, urges he, is the *left* side, because the cross on the holy Bread signifies the Cross which our Lord bore on His Back. But in the σβροπος ἐμπνελα prefixed to the Venice edition of 1839, it is expressly said that, notwithstanding this mystical interpretation, the holy Bread is to be considered as *face* to *face* with the Celebrant: so that the

At Thy right hand *Θὺ* stand the Queen in a vesture of gold, wrought about with divers colours.

Then, taking the third Gimension, he saith,

Of the honourable and glorious Forerunner, Prophet, and Baptist John.

And taking one portion, he places it on the left^h side of the holy Bread, making a beginning of the first row. Then he saith,

Of the holy and glorious Prophets, Moses and Aaron, Elijah, Elisha, David and Jesse, the Three Holy Children, and Daniel the Prophet, and all holy Prophets.

And he places the second portion orderly under the first. Then he saith,

Of the holy and glorious and all celebrated Apostles, Peter and Paul, the Twelve, and the Seventy, and all holy Apostles¹.

Celebrant's left, i. e. the north side, is the right of the Bread. There was a similar ambiguity in the Roman Missal. Anciently, the left side of the Altar meant the left side of the Celebrant, i. e. the north; but in 1455, the Roman Pontifical then published ordered that the right and left side of the Altar should mean the right and left side of the Crucifix: the right was therefore then made the north, the left, the south.—(Sala, *lit. de*, not. 1; Le Brun, l. 107 seq.)

¹ It would be worth discovering, when this very curious system of commemorating the Saints was introduced. But we have absolutely no grounds at all for such a decision: though we may safely affirm, that the rite is not earlier than the sixth century. For the square of nine portions is allowed to symbolize the nine orders of the Celestial Hierarchy, according to the doctrine of the works which bear the name of S. Dionysius the Areopagite. But those works were first quoted in a conference holden with the Monophysites at Constantinople

in 553, and therefore could not have been well known for any long time previously. Singularly enough, a passage is quoted from the same Pseudo-Dionysius, which may refer to this arrangement. *Ἐκτεθέντων τῶν ὁσίων ὁσίωνων τῶν εὐσεβέων σφαιρῶν... τριπλοῦς ἀριθμῶντος ὁ τῶν ὁσίων ἀπολογισμῶν. τὸ εὐσεβέστατον αὐτῶν ἀριθμῶντος ἐκτεθέντων τῶν ὁσίων ἁγίων ὁσίωνων, καὶ τοῦτο ὁσίωνον.*

² I have given this rubric as it exists in the Russian Church, and as the use is in the Greek. But it is strange that the Greek Rubric gives exactly the opposite direction; *ἐν τῷ δεξιῷ μέρει τοῦ ὁσίου ἁγίου, ὑψίστου τῶν ἀγγελῶν τῶν Θεοτόκου*. The reason of this discrepancy I have in vain enquired from Greek Priests.

³ The Eastern Church commemorates in the Mena the Seventy, and others who were immediately connected with our Lord as Apostles: hence the necessity for the addition. Saints, next in her estimation, she denominates *ἰσχυροὶ*, the equals of the Apostles.

And thus he places the third portion below the second, finishing the first row. Then he saith,

Of our holy Fathers, and Œcumenical great Doctors and Hierarchs, Basil the Great, Gregory the Theologian, and John Chrysostom, Athanasius and Cyril, Nicolas of Myra, and all holy Hierarchs¹.

And taking the fourth portion, he places it near the first, beginning a second row. Then he saith again,

Of the holy Proto-martyr and Archdeacon Stephen, the great and holy Martyrs Demetrius, George, Theodore², and all holy Martyrs, both men and women.

And taking the fifth portion, he lays it under the first of the second row. Then he saith,

Of our holy Fathers, filled with God, Antony, Euthymius, Sabbas, Onuphrius, and Athanasius of Mount Athos¹, and all holy ascetics, men and women.

And thus, taking the sixth portion, he places it below the second portion, to the accomplishment of the second row. After this he saith,

¹ The Russian Prothesis adds, "Of Peter and Alexia, Jonas and Philip of Moscow, Nicetas of Novgorod, Leon-tius of Rostoff, and all holy Hierarchs."

Of these, S. Peter was the first Metropolitan of Moscow, removing his chair thither from Vladimir, and dying there in 1328; S. Alexis sat from 1353—1380; S. Jonah from 1448—1462; and S. Philip from 1565—1568, the only one of the Russian Prelates who was honoured with martyrdom. S. Nicetas was Bishop and Lord of Novgorod in the twelfth century: he was originally a Monk of the Pechersky Laura, of which I shall speak directly.

² The Russian Church adds, "Diodorus Tyron, Diodorus the Warrior, Thecla, Barbara, Cyriaca, Euphemia, Parasceve, Catharina, and all holy women Martyrs." S. Thecla is celebrated as the Virgin Proto-martyr; S. Barbara of Nicomedia has always been singularly illustrious in the Eastern

Church; S. Euphemia is the more celebrated from the fourth Œcumenical Council having been held in her church at Chalcedon; S. Hecaterina, or Catherine, is regarded with great veneration in Russia, and has given her name to more than one member of the royal family; the reason of the selection of the other two is more obscure.

¹ Of this S. Athanasius see Ricaut, p. 234. The Russian Church adds, "Antony and Theodosius of the Pechersky, Sergius of Radoniege, Balaam of the Chutinsky, and all venerable Fathers; and of the venerable Matrons, Pelagia, Theodosia, Anastasia, Eupraxia, Febronia, Theodula, Euphrosyne, Mary of Egypt, and all venerable Matrons." The Pechersky monastery, near Kieff, (the word signifies 'of the Catacombs,') was the first of any note in Russia, and was founded by S. Antony, mentioned above, about A.D. 1060, and rebuilt by Peter I.; it still exists; S. Theodosius was its first superior.

Of the wonderworking and unmercenary Saints, Cosmas and Damian, Cyrus and John, Panteleemon and Hermolaus, and of all unmercenary Saints.

Then taking the seventh portion, he puts it at the top, beginning the third row.

Of the holy and just parents of God, Joachim and Anna, of N. *the Saint of the day;* and all Saints, through whose intercessions God look upon us.

And taking the eighth portion, he places it in order a little below the first of the third row.

Yet further he saith,

Of our holy Father, John Chrysostom, Archbishop of Constantinople, *'if his Liturgy be said that day; but if S. Basil's be, he commemorates him.'*

And thus, taking the ninth portion, he finishes with it the third row. Then taking the fourth Oblation, he saith,

Remember, O LORD and Lover of men, all Orthodox Sees, our Bishop N., the venerable Presbytery, the Diaconate in CHRIST, and every hierarchical rank, the Hegumen N., our brothers and fellow-ministers, Priests and Deacons, and all our brothers, whom Thou hast called to Thy Communion, through Thy mercy, O good LORD.

And taking a portion, he places it below the holy Bread^m. Then he commemorates also those living whose names he hasⁿ, and thus taking their portions, places them below the holy Bread.

^m Here there are a great number of various readings in different copies of S. Chrysostom's Liturgy. The Russian Church here commemorates the reigning sovereign, and the royal family.

ⁿ "Before they go to the Prothesis to begin the Liturgy," says Dr. Covel, "all good people who are disposed to have their absent friends, dead or living, commemorated, go to them that celebrate, and get their names set down, there being two catalogues, one for the living, one for the dead, for which they deposit some aspers, or richer presents, in silver or gold, as they are able or disposed; this being a great part of a

common Priest's maintenance, especially in country villages. And as the Priest reads over these catalogues, at every name there written, there is a scrape made upon the crust to rub off some mites as their particular portions." This custom much resembles that which is referred to by S. Innocent I., in his Epistle to Decentius: "The Oblations are first to be commended to God, and then their names, whose are the Oblations, to be recited, that they may be named in the mysteries." And S. Jerome (Homil. in Ezech., cap. 6 and 18) rebukes the pride which some offerers took in hearing their names thus recited.

Then taking the fifth Oblation, he saith,

For the memory and forgiveness of sins of the blessed founders of this holy habitation.

He then commemorates the Bishop that ordained him, and such other of the dead as he pleases ; and lastly, saith thus,

And of all our Orthodox fathers and brethren, who have departed in the hope of the resurrection and in Thy communion to eternal life, O LORD and Lover of men.

And he takes a portion^o.

Then the Deacon, himself also taking a Seal^p and the holy spear, commemorates^q those of the living whom he pleases ; and lastly saith thus,

Remember, also, O LORD, my unworthiness, and forgive me every sin, voluntary and involuntary.

Then, in like manner, he takes another Seal, and commemorates whom he will of the departed : and puts the portions below the holy Bread, in the same way as the Priest. Then he takes the sponge^r, and gathers together the portions in the disk under the holy Bread, so that they are safe, and that nothing can fall off. Then the Deacon, taking the censer, and incense in it, saith to the Priest,

^o Here the Russian Church adds, "Remember also, O LORD, me Thine unworthy servant, and forgive me all my sins, voluntary and involuntary."

^p That is, one of the Oblations from which the Priest has already taken some portions.

^q This is an innovation. S. Symeon of Thessalonica distinctly condemns it. "The Deacons must not offer portions ; for they have not the grace of offering to God." (ὁ δεῖ διακόνους μερίδας προσφέρειν. . . . ἐπεὶ καὶ τὸ χάρισμα τοῦ προσφέρειν τῷ Θεῷ οὐκ ἔχουσιν.) So Arcudius (iii. 13) and George Pachymeres, commenting on the third chapter of Pseudo-Dionysius. On the other hand, S. Germanus of Constantinople, and, following him, Goar, assert the lawfulness of the performance of this act by a Deacon. S. Germanus has little better to allege than the cus-

tom of Constantinople, πρὸς γὰρ τὰ ἔθνη τῆς μεγάλης ἐκκλησίας ὁρᾶν χρῆ. But Goar alleges that the ceremony of the particles is not really an oblation : that no oblation takes place till the elements are brought in at the great entrance, and offered at the altar : and again, are more solemnly offered after consecration. This reasoning does not satisfy us ; the form is express, πρόσδεξαι τὴν Θυσίαν ταυτὴν εἰς τὸ ὑπερουρανίον σου θυσιαστήριον^r and is almost (as I observed) identical in words with the most solemn Oblation of the Latin Church. The innovation, to say the least, is very dangerous ; and it is not adopted by the Russian Church.

^r The Greeks use a 'holy sponge,' in place of the *purificatorium* of the Latins. It is generally called ἱπόγγος, but here μούσα, the more modern term for the same thing.

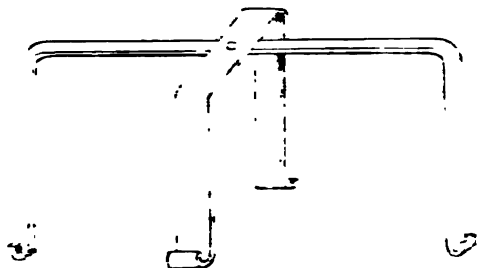
Sir, bless the incense. Let us make our supplications to the LORD.

The Priest with the prayer of incense.

We offer to Thee incense, O CHRIST OUR GOD, for a savour of a spiritual perfume: receive it unto Thy heavenly Altar, and send down in its stead the grace of Thy most HOLY SPIRIT.

Deacon. Let us make our supplications to the LORD.

The Priest ceases the asterisk¹, and places it over the holy Bread, saying,



And the star came, and stood over where the young Child was.

Deacon. Let us make our supplications to the LORD.

And the Priest taking the first veil², covers with it the holy Bread with the disk, saying,

¹ The asterisk is as shewn in the text; it folds and unfolds for the purpose of being more conveniently put away. Its use is to prevent the veil of the disk from disarranging the order of the portions; its mystical meaning, as the versicle shews, is the star which led the Wise Men to the Infant SAVIOUR. S. Germanus, who usually finds a reference to the Nativity, where the context of the office refers to the Death of our SAVIOUR, here finds a reference to the latter, where the Liturgy intends the former, and explains the asterisk of our LORD's bier and its coverings.

² This veil is called the *ἄνωθεν ἱμάτιον*.

The second veil has no distinctive name, but the third is called 'Αἴρ or νεφέλα. It is called *air*, because, as the air surrounds the earth, so does this surround the holy gifts; and *cloud*, because it is written, "There came a cloud and overshadowed them." This name, *air*, has found its way into our own Church, through Bishop Andrewes, and the divines of his time, who (especially Wren) were well versed in the Eastern Liturgies. The form of consecration of the chalice veils, as used in the Coptic Church, is given by Renaudot, (Lit. Or. i. 31.) It very closely resembles that of the Gregorian sacramentary. The arrangement of

The LORD hath reigned ; He hath put on glorious apparel : the LORD hath put on His apparel, and girded Himself with strength.

Deacon. Let us make our supplications to the LORD. Sir, cover. (κάλυψον.)

And the Priest, censing the second veil, covers with it the holy chalice, saying,

Thy glory, O CHRIST, hath filled the heavens, and the earth is full of Thy praise.

Deacon. Let us make our supplications to the LORD. Sir, shelter. (σκέπασον.)

The Priest censing the covering which is called the air, and covering both chalice and disk with it, saith,

Shelter us with the covering of Thy wings, chase away from us every enemy and foe ; give peace in our time ; LORD, have mercy on us, and on Thy world, and save our souls, for Thou art good, and the lover of men.

Then the Priest, taking the censer, censes the Prothesis, saying thrice,

Blessed be our God, who is thus well pleased : glory be to Thee.

The Deacon saith at each time,

Always, now and ever, and to ages of ages. Amen.

Then they both adore reverently, three times. Then the Deacon, taking the censer, saith,

At the oblation of the Holy Gifts, let us make our supplications to the LORD.

The Priest saith the prayer of the Prothesis.*

these veils is, it will be seen, very different from that used by the Latin Church, though the Theatine Clerks Regular approximate to it, (Siloes Ann. Theatin. ii. 9. 389.) S. Germanus makes these three veils to represent the sheet in which our LORD was wound, the linen napkin wrapped about His head, and the stone rolled to the mouth of the sepulchre. But he does not account satisfactorily for this; reckoning the διασκοδόλυμα twice over, and

the chalice veil not at all.

* The difference of the two expressions used for the covering with the first and with the second veil, will shew the propriety of the exclamations by the Priest that follow each.

† This prayer is word for word from the Liturgy of S. James, where it is said by the Priest when the Oblations are brought from the Prothesis to the Altar, i. e. at the great entrance.

1. *Sancta, sancta, sancta.* With mind and flesh the Heavenly Bread, the sacrament of the whole world, our Lord and our Father Christ is a Saviour and Redeemer and Benefactor, blessing and hallowing us. Through him this Oblation and sacrifice is to Thy heavenly Father: remember, of Thy goodness and love to men, them that offered it, and them for whom they offered it, and keep us without condemnation in the celebration of Thy holy mysteries. For named and hallowed is Thy holy and glorious Name, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost now and ever, and to ages of ages. Amen.

And after this he there makes the communion, saying thus,

Glory be to Thee, Christ, our God and Hope: glory be to Thee.

Deacon. Glory. *Each now.** Lord have mercy. Sir, give the blessing.

And the Priest gives the communion, saying,

{ if it be Sunday, CHRIST, that arose from the dead, }
{ if not, CHRIST, our true God, }

through the intercessions of His spotless Mother, and our holy Father, John Chrysostom, Archbishop of Constantinople, or, if it be the Liturgy of S. Basil, of S. Basil the Great, of

* This is the way of representing the Eastern Church. "Glory be to the FATHER, and to the Son, and to the HOLY GHOST, both now and ever, and to ages of ages. Amen." Most frequently, the first member is prefixed to one hymn, the second to another, which latter is almost always addressed to the Blessed Virgin. So in the office of the Great Habit: "Glory. The surge of sin surrounds me, SAVIOUR: and no longer enduring the storm, I fall before Thee, the only Pilot. Both now. Preserve us from our necessities, O Mother of CHRIST our God, who didst bring forth the Maker of all things," &c.

† The benediction, it may be ob-

served in passing, is given in a different manner by the Oriental Church from that used by the Latins. The Priest joins his thumb and third finger, and erects and joins the other three: and is thus supposed to symbolize the procession of the Holy Ghost from the FATHER alone; and, according to others, to form the sacred letters IHC by the position of his fingers.

* This appears a later form. The older one was, "By the intercessions of the most holy, undefiled, excellently laudable, glorious Lady, the Mother of God and Ever-Virgin Mary, and all Saints, and by the virtue of the precious and life-giving Cross," &c.

Cæsarea in Cappadocia,) and All Saints, have mercy on us, and save us; for Thou art good and the lover of men.

Deacon. Amen.

After the dismissal, the Deacon censens the holy Prothesis; then he goes^a and censens the holy Table all round in the form of a cross; saying secretly

^b In the tomb bodily, in Hades spiritually, in paradise with the thief, while Thou wert, O CHRIST, with the FATHER and the HOLY GHOST on the throne, as GOD filling all things and incircumscribed. *Then he saith the fifty-first Psalm^c. In the mean time he censens the sanctuary and all the church, and comes again to the holy Altar, and again censens the holy Table and the Priest; then he puts down the censer in its place, and comes close to the Priest; and they stand in front of the holy Table, and make three reverences; praying secretly, and saying,*

O heavenly King, the Paraclete, the SPIRIT of truth, Who art every where present, and fillest all things, the Treasure of good things, and Giver of life, come and tabernacle in us, and cleanse us from all stain, and save our souls, O good God.

Glory to GOD in the highest, and on earth peace, good-will towards men. ^d *Twice.*

O LORD, open Thou my lips, and my mouth shall shew forth Thy praise.

Then the Priest kisses the holy Gospel^e, and the Deacon the holy Table. Then the Deacon, bowing his head to the Priest,

^a The Priest and the Deacon now go to the Altar, leaving the Oblations on the Prothesis.

^b This hymn is very obscure from the variety of punctuation in the original; some reading it thus, *ἐν τῷ σώματι*, ἐν ᾧ Ἰδοὺ δὲ μετὰ ψυχῆς ὡς Θεός, ἐν Παραδείσῳ δὲ μετὰ ληστοῦ ὡς ἐν Θρόνῳ, ὑπῆρχες Χριστέ κ.τ.λ.

^c The reader unused to Greek Liturgies would be puzzled by the direction λέγων Ἐν τῷ σώματι, καὶ τὸν Ν'. According to S. Germanus, the censer, which the Deacon is

holding, signifies the Body, the coal the Human Soul, the fire, the Divinity of our LORD.

^d This verse was not anciently used here; in the Russian Church it is ordered to be said twice.

^e Which is in the middle of the Altar, and signifies the Presence of CHRIST; just as it was always exposed in the middle of the church during a council. The Priest kisses the symbol of our LORD Himself; the Deacon, with less boldness, that of His throne.

and holding his horarion with the three fingers of his right hand, saith,

It is time to sacrifice¹ to the LORD. Holy Sir, give the blessing.

The Priest, signing him with the cross, saith,

Blessed be our God always, now and ever, and to ages of ages. Amen.

Deacon. Holy Sir, pray for me.

Priest. The LORD make straight thy goings to every good work.

Deacon. Holy Sir, remember me.

Priest. The LORD our God remember thee in His kingdom, always, now and ever, and to ages of ages.

Deacon. Amen. *Then he makes a reverence, and goes out, and standing in the accustomed place, over against the holy doors, makes three reverences, saying to himself, O LORD, open Thou my lips, and my mouth shall shew Thy praise. After this, he begins,*

Sir, give the blessing.

Priest. Blessed be the kingdom, &c.

The Liturgy will be found continued in the next chapter but one.

¹ Πoιεῖν. King translates "to perform;" and Goar, doubtfully, "faciendi." The word often, in late Greek signifies to sacrifice. So the LXX, Isai. xix. 21; 1 Kings xi. 33; Levit. ix. 7; "τοῦ ποιῆσαι ἀδρός κατὰ τὸ ἐθιμόν τοῦ νόμου"—ought to be translated—"that they might offer a

sacrifice according to the custom of the Law." So *facere* is often used in Latin, Virg. Ecl. iii. 77, "Cum faciam vitula pro frugibus." And the similar word *πέπειν*, as every one knows, constantly means the same thing.

A few words may be said on the Armenian office of the Prothesis. After the Priest is robed, he washes his hands, and says, "I will wash my hands in innocency, O LORD, and so will I go to Thine Altar;" then, alternately with the Deacon, the *Judica me Deus*, and the Roman *Confiteor*. The choir outside the doors of the chapel of Prothesis, say, "Commemorate us before the immortal LAMB of GOD." The Priest replies, "Yes, ye shall be commemorated before the immortal LAMB of GOD." The choir then sings the hundredth Psalm.

If a Bishop is celebrant, he says in this place two long prayers, while the choir, apparently now standing before the holy doors, sing the troparia of the day. These prayers were composed by S. Gregory of Narighen, in the tenth century. They are not said by a Priest. I quote the rubrics of the preparation.

The Priest takes bread from the hands of the Deacon, and places it on the disk, saying,

In commemoration of our LORD JESUS CHRIST.

Then, taking the wine, he pours it into the chalice, making with it the sign of the cross, and saying, "In commemoration, and on account of the Incarnation of our LORD and GOD and SAVIOUR JESUS CHRIST." After that he saith secretly the prayer of S. John Chrysostom, O GOD, our GOD, &c. He then places a veil over the Oblations, and saith secretly the ninety-third Psalm, The LORD is King, &c. After this, the Priest blesses the Sacrifice by making over it the sign of the cross thrice, and says, The HOLY GHOST shall come upon thee, and the power of the Highest shall overshadow thee. He next takes the censer from the Deacon, and bowing before the Holy Things, censes them, and says a prayer of incense.

He then goes among the people, and censes them; and then enters the bema. While the Deacon, standing, as in the Constantinopolitan rite, begins, Sir, give the blessing.

Now it is very clear that the *Confiteor* is borrowed from Rome. It is also clear that, at the time of the schism of the Armenians, the office of the Prothesis was not used, as we have it now, in Constantinople, but a much simpler

form. In the Armeno-Roman rite, scarcely any change is made; but all that follows the *Lavabo*, instead of being said in the Prothesis, is said before the Altar; and even while the Priest is vesting, the choir, instead of being at the doors of the Prothesis, are before the bema. *Mentre s'apparechia il Celebrante, cantano i Chierici in mezzo al coro il Ritmo seguente.*

I believe that this practice has widely crept in among the Churches of the Armeno-Gregorian rite: but it is certainly a corruption: and the ancient arrangement still exists, as I learn from M. Mouraviëff, at Etchmiadzine. The original commencement after the ceremony of vesting, and the *Lavabo*, was probably, in case of a Bishop, the prayer of S. Gregory of Narighen, which is very suitable to such an idea, in that of a Priest, the words "In commemoration of our LORD JESUS CHRIST."

CHAPTER III.

**DISSERTATION ON THE PROANAPHORAL PORTION
OF THE ORIENTAL LITURGIES.**

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Figure 1. Schematic representation of the experimental design. The subjects were divided into two groups: the control group (CG) and the experimental group (EG). The CG was divided into two subgroups: the control group (CG) and the control group (CG). The EG was divided into two subgroups: the experimental group (EG) and the experimental group (EG). The CG was divided into two subgroups: the control group (CG) and the control group (CG). The EG was divided into two subgroups: the experimental group (EG) and the experimental group (EG).

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CHAPTER III.

DISSERTATION ON THE PROANAPHORAL PORTION OF THE ORIENTAL LITURGIES.

PREVIOUSLY to entering on a parallel arrangement of the most celebrated Oriental Liturgies, we shall find it convenient to dwell on some of the principal features of those rites in a separate essay. I shall divide that essay into two portions: the first, the proanaphoral part, or that which extends from the access of the Priest to the Altar to the exclamation, "The grace of our LORD JESUS CHRIST," &c., before the *Sursum Corda*; the other from thence to the end.

In beginning the former dissertation, we must turn our attention to eleven principal heads: which may be classed in two grand divisions.

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|---------------------------------------|---|---|
| I. The Mass
of the
Catechumens. | { | 1. The Preparatory Prayers.
2. The Initial Hymn or Introit.
3. The Little Entrance.
4. The Trisagion.
5. The Lections.
6. The Prayers after the Gospel, and
expulsion of the Catechumens. |
| II. The Mass
of the
Faithful. | { | 1. The Prayers for the Faithful.
2. The Great Entrance.
3. The Offertory.
4. The Kiss of Peace.
5. The Creed. |

It seems certain, that the Liturgical office, in the Eastern Church of the third century, commenced with a Psalm or

lyrical. Whatever proceeds this is to be regarded rather as the light of a preparation to the office, than as the office itself.

The Liturgy of S. James in its present arrangement, presents at its commencement a mere confusion of prayers, which need not detain us. The first is the confession of unworthiness by the Priest, or, as it was called in the Gallican and Mozarabic rites, the *Apology*; the second, that of access; the third, that of incense at the commencement; the fourth, that of commencement; the fifth, that of incense at the entrance of the congregation; the sixth, a short prayer without a name; the seventh, a responsory petition pronounced by the Deacon. Now, the first of these is probably genuine and original; but the ninth is simply another edition of it; the third and fifth, also, are clearly identical; while the seventh originally occurred in quite another place, before the Trisagion, to which its last words clearly refer. This, as we now have it, ushers in the hymn, "Only-begotten Son."

The beginnings of the two normal offices of the Syro-Jacobite Liturgy of S. James are nothing but a mere conglomeration of prayers, responses, *sedras*, or anthems, psalms, and versicles; evidently the aggregation of a late age, which to attempt to investigate would be a mere waste of time.

The Liturgies, however, of S. Basil and S. Chrysostom introduce us to a practical and tangible commencement. They open with the Missal Litany, variously known by the names of *Ectene*, *Synapte*, *Diaconikai*, and *Irenikai*. They occur in every possible situation, under many varying forms; and compose, to a certain degree, the staple of all the Greek Liturgies; though those of S. Mark and S. James do not commence with them. This Litany is named *Ectene*, also *Ectenes*, from its protracted length; *Synapte*, from its concatenated series; *Diaconikai*, that is, *Euchai*, because bidden by the Deacon; *Irenikai*, either because they commence, "Again and again in peace let us make our supplications to the Lord;" or because their general end and aim is peace.

This form of prayer, however, was anciently common to both the East and West. It was known by the name of *Preces*, or *Pacificæ*, and, till the ninth century, appears to

have been said immediately after the *Kyrie* on days when the *Gloria in Excelsis* was not sung. In the Church of Milan these prayers are, at the present time, retained in the Sundays of Lent; by the Roman ritual, in much modified forms, on Good Friday, and before the *Gloria in Excelsis* on Easter Eve. But the Milanese formula, which immediately precedes the Collect, is sometimes little more than a translation from the Greek. I give a specimen from the Ectene for the first Sunday in Lent.

“ Beseeching the gift of Divine mercy and indulgence with our whole heart and soul, we pray,

LORD, *have mercy.*

For the holy Catholic Church, which is here, and is scattered throughout the whole world, we pray Thee,

LORD, *have mercy.*

For our Pope N., our Bishop N., and all their Clergy, and all Priests and Ministers, we pray Thee,

LORD, *have mercy.*

For Thy servants N., our Emperor N., our King, our Duke, and all their forces, we pray Thee,

LORD, *have mercy.*

For the peace of the Churches, the calling of the Gentiles, and the quiet of the peoples, we pray Thee,

LORD, *have mercy.*

For this city and its preservation, and them that dwell in it, we pray Thee,

LORD, *have mercy.*

For good temperature of air, and the fruit and fecundity of the ground, we pray Thee,

LORD, *have mercy.*

For virgins, widows, orphans, captives and penitents, we pray Thee,

LORD, *have mercy.*

For them that voyage, that travel, that are in prison, in bonds, in mines, in exile, we pray Thee,

LORD, *have mercy.*

For them that are held by divers infirmities, and vexed of unclean spirits, we pray Thee,

LORD, *have mercy.*

Let them that in Thy holy Church in words of mercy we pray *Lord.*

Lord, have mercy.

Let us, O Lord, in all our prayers and supplications, we pray *Lord.*

Lord, have mercy.

Let us say all.

Lord, have mercy.

Remember from earliest time

"That a Christian and pious man of like name be granted us from the Lord, we pray

Grant, Lord, please.

That the Divine light of mercy may remain in us, we pray the Lord

Grant, Lord, please.

I have only further to observe, that the long ectene, in the different offices of the Constantinopolitan Church, consists of ten or twelve or more petitions, eximies of the two short versicles, "Lord preserve just, and succour us, O God, with Thy grace," and "Commemorating the most holy, undefiled, excellently glorious, glorious Lady," &c. The short ectene continues in the phrase, "Again and again in peace let us make our supplications to the Lord," and the two last versicles only. Both the long and short ectene end with an *exclamation*, or *doxology* repeated aloud by the Priest, and serving also as the conclusion to the prayer which he has been saying in secret during the progress of the ectene.

The Armenian Liturgy, though differing widely in the *Prothesis*, agrees tolerably well with the Casarean rite after the access to the Altar.

The second great family, the Alexandrine, seems to have retained the most primitive arrangement of the commencement of the Liturgy. The office of S. Mark contains, before the first hymn, three prayers, for the congregation, for the King, for the Pope of Alexandria. These are each preceded by "The Lord be with you," from the Priest, by the bidding from the Deacon, by the Kyrie eleison from the people.

The Copto-Jacobite normal Liturgy of S. Basil entirely departs from this primitive arrangement. We have here a

succession of prayers, said by the Priest; of preparation; after preparation; of thanksgiving; of oblation; of absolution; of incense; during which, probably, though the rubrics, as we have them, do not mention it, the Initial Hymn is sung.

The Ethiopic Canon wanders still more widely. It begins with a kind of anthem; the verses partly from the Psalms, partly ecclesiastical. Then follow prayers for the (material) church, the Altar, the paten, the chalice, the spoon, the ark; the prayer of illation; the prayer for mingling water with wine; the prayer of thanksgiving; the prayer for the offerers, (undoubtedly of high antiquity;) the prayer of absolution; the notice of festivals; the diptychs.

In these two last offices, as in the Syro-Jacobite, the Oblation, or Great Entrance, precedes the introduction of the Gospel, or Little Entrance.

The Nestorian rite is very simple, and, to all appearance, very early. It commences with an inscription of "Glory to God in the highest!" followed by the Lord's Prayer, a brief 'apology,' the fifteenth Psalm, a prayer of thanksgiving, that of incense, during which the Initial Hymn is sung.

II. THE INITIAL HYMN:

(CALLED, IN THE ROMAN CHURCH, THE INTROIT.)

If, as tradition asserts, the Provincial Roman Church did not commence its Liturgy with a hymn till the time of S. Celestine I., it would appear to have been the last to adopt the custom. The Mozarabic office was so commenced at least as early as the time of S. Damasus, and it would seem that the Eastern Liturgies had done so long before.

To avoid the uncouth and lengthy appellation, the Initial Hymn, I shall make use of the Roman term *Introit*, though it is not used in that sense in the East; only observing that the word has no connexion whatever with the *Entrances* of the Eastern Church, Great or Little; though, as it happens, it does immediately precede the latter.

The Introits of the Liturgies of S. Mark and S. James are the same: and consist of the hymn, "Only-begotten Son,"

which is clearly of later date than the Council of Ephesus. "Only-begotten SON, and Word of GOD, immortal. Who didst vouchsafe for our salvation to take flesh of the holy Mother of GOD and Ever-Virgin Mary, and didst without mutation become man, and was crucified, CHRIST our GOD, and by death didst overcome death, being one of the HOLY TRINITY, and glorified together with the FATHER and the HOLY GHOST, save us."

In the Basilian and Chrysostomic Liturgies, the Introit is divided into three antiphons.

The first antiphon is a series of verses from the Psalms, in or out of their regular order, each followed by the prayer, "At the intercession of the most holy Mother of GOD, SAVIOUR, save us."

The second antiphon is of the same nature: only, instead of the address to the Blessed Virgin Mary, the inserted versicles have reference to the Festival. As for example, on Easter Day, "SON of GOD, That didst rise from the dead, save us, who sing to Thee Alleluia." It ends with the Doxology, and the hymn, Only-begotten SON.

The third antiphon is concluded with *troparia* proper for the day. For the further explanation of these terms, the reader is referred to the third chapter of the next book.

On Sundays, instead of the two first antiphons, *typica* are sung. The first *typica* denote the 103rd Psalm; the second *typica*, the 146th. But from New Sunday to All Saints Sunday, that is, see book iv. chap. ii. from Low Sunday to Trinity, antiphons are recited instead of *typica*.

The place of the third antiphon is on Sundays supplied by the Beatitudes, to the three last of which *troparia* from the third and sixth odes of the Canon for the day are sub-joined. This will be better understood when I come to speak of the Office Books of Constantinople.

The Armenian office has "Only-begotten SON" at the very commencement: and the antiphon, or an approximation to them, also in the proper place. But, instead of the "Only-begotten SON," the Armeno-Roman rite inserts the Introit for the day. There is therefore here a double blunder; the first the corruption which has for centuries prevailed in

the Armenian rite, of having the Only-begotten *besides* the Initial Hymn; the second, that of the Roman correctors, in making the Introit agree with that, instead of with the Initial Hymn. Where the "Only-begotten" occurs in the Armeno-Gregorian rite, the Roman edition (I quote from the authorised Italian version) has *Qui si dice l'Introito proprio del giorno*. The antiphona are supplied by the *l'Inno proprio del giorno*.

The other normal Liturgies have varying introits like the Roman.

The Introit, in the Mozarabic office, is called the *Ad Missam Officium*, but sometimes also the *Antiphona*. In the Ambrosian, it was known as the *Ingressa*.

III. THE LITTLE ENTRANCE.

The ceremony of the Little Entrance, that is, the bringing in the Gospel, is one of considerable pomp. Preceded by tapers, the Deacon carries the volume before the Priest, through the prothesis, and so back again to the holy doors, by the way I have marked in the ground-plan of S. Sophia. It accordingly answers to the carrying the Gospel by the Deacon to the roodloft or ambo in the Western Church; a rite formerly of much greater importance than now. It was anciently not only preceded by tapers, but also by the crucifix*; and altogether bore a closer resemblance to the Constantinopolitan rite. The same ceremony is briefly referred to in S. Mark; *καὶ γίνεται ἡ εἰσοδος τοῦ Εὐαγγελίου* but the ceremonies are not described, and are now not

* Antecedit quoque crux, primo ad notandum, &c. Durand. Rational. iv. 24. 16. Quando vadunt ad Evangelium, primo vadunt duo clerici portantes candelabra, et in medio major eorum portans crucem. Such was a rule in a MS. ritual of S. Martin of Tours, quoted by Sala, iii. 150. This rite lasted till the first French Revolution in the cathedral church of S. Maurice

at Angers, as we learn from Le Moleon. "On va au Jubé en cet ordre: Deux Thuriféraires, suivis des deux porte chandeliers; puis un petit Diacre portant la Croix." p. 89. In the cathedral church of Narbonne six Deacons and six Subdeacons preceded the Deacon of the Gospel, and retired when he came to the roodloft.

known. Here, as in the Liturgy of S. James in the Constantinopolitan family, the Little precedes the Great Entrance; but in the cognate form of Coptic S. Basil, the order is reversed, and this is also the case in the Ethiopic Canon and in the Syro-Jacobite forms. The Mozarabic agrees with the Constantinopolitan, as also does the Armenian, and, it would seem, the Nestorian.

In the time of Byzantine glory, the magnificence of the volume of the Gospels, with illumination, gilding, precious stones, &c., is almost incredible. Conchand^b gives a specimen of the ornament employed on them. And in the same way, the talents of the mediæval poets of Constantinople were exercised in celebrating them. Allatius gives a great number of examples; from which I select the two best. The first is to S. Luke:

Λουκᾶς ἡμεῖς ποιεῖς ἀποστολῆς ἀνδράγα,
 Ἄδωναν Χριστοῦ γένε. καὶ θάνατον ἔργα
 Ἀγρευτὴς παύλας, καὶ ὡς θῶκεν ἄρας σκῆπτρον,
 Καὶ πάλιν ἐκ τρυβλίου θαλάσσης μερίσαντος ἐμχέει
 Ἐσθὲν δ' αἰμάτων ἐκτὶρ ἄνθρωποι Πατρὶ φαιδύει.

To S. John :

Ἐρωτῆς γένε θρασυῖον ἐφίδον μέγα.
 Καὶ σῶσαντες πῶς ἡ προάρχων φύσας
 Θεὸς Ἐρωτὸς τε, καὶ Θεὸς πάλιν μένος.
 Δίδον δὲ λίαν τῶν ἀφληγμένων ζῶν.
 Ἰωάννην κατακτείνει τῶνδε τῶν ἄλλων.

IV. THE HYMN OF THE TRISAGION.

This hymn, "Holy God, Holy and Mighty, Holy and Immortal, have mercy on us," occurs in almost all the Oriental Liturgies; but not always in the same place. It follows the Little Entrance in the Constantinopolitan and Armenian rituals, as also in that of S. Mark. In the Syro-Jacobite forms, it is inserted almost at the beginning of the office: in Coptic S. Basil it does not occur.

^b Choix d'Églises Byzantines, pl. 34.

The origin of this hymn is referred to the time of S. Proclus of Constantinople, who sat on the Œcumenical Throne from A.D. 434—437. An earthquake endangering the city, a youth, says Greek tradition, was caught up into the clouds, and there heard this hymn, which he was instructed to teach to his fellow-citizens; and, on their joining in it, the earthquake ceased. But the probability^c is, that the hymn is older than the time of Proclus. He might indeed have inserted it in the Liturgy, or arranged it in its present form. And it is worthy of notice, that the Monk Job, who wrote in the middle of the sixth century^d, asserts that Proclus composed it himself, and not that it was revealed to a youth by inspiration. Nicephorus Callistus, no great authority, certainly, in such a matter, holds it to be of apostolic origin^e. But better proofs of its antiquity are these. 1. In the first^f session of the Council of Chalcedon, we find the Trisagion^g among the exclamations of the Fathers, which is an argument that it must then have been tolerably well known. 2. The life of S. Basil by S. Amphilochius^h of Iconium, states that he pronounced these words in the church of S. Diomedes, at Nicæa. We may conclude that it is of exceedingly primitive use in the Church, and probably apostolic.

The interpolation of the form by the Jacobites gave rise to great troubles. Peter the Fuller added to it, "Thou That wast crucified for us, have mercy on us." It is clear that the words in themselves contain nothing heretical; the former part of the hymn might be applied to our LORD; and then the addition was perfectly harmless. But in this way some

^c If the Epistles of Pope Felix III. and others to Peter Fullo were genuine, they might be received in favour of the miraculous origin of the Trisagion. But Le Quien, in his introductory remarks to the little work composed by S. John Damascene, on this very hymn (Opp., tom. i. p. 478) has shewn that they are supposititious. So Valesius also believed; though Cave and Page were of the opposite opinion.

^d Jobius, ap. Photium, Cod. 222.

^e Niceph. Callist. xviii. 51.

^f Hist. Alex. i. 301.

^g This is referred to by S. John Damascene, i. 487 D, who however believes the miraculous origin.

^h It is true that the authorship of this life is doubtful; but whoever wrote it could not have lived long after the time of S. Basil, because he speaks of the Holy TRINITY as possessing One Hypostasis, using the term in the sense of essence.

Catholics actually used the innovation. But the "Holy God, Holy and Mighty, Holy and Immortal," had usually, and most naturally, been taken as applying to the whole TRINITY : and, in this point of view, the alteration was decidedly heretical. It was, however, received by the Antiochenes ; and the Orthodox Patriarch Calendion¹ thought it better to adopt it, merely inserting the words, "CHRIST our King." The whole therefore ran thus : "Holy God, Holy and Mighty, Holy and Immortal, CHRIST our King, Thou That wast crucified for us, have mercy upon us." However, the new addition pleased no one, and was soon rejected. The arch-heretic Severus, when Patriarch of Antioch, made the use of the addition of Peter the Fuller general in his Diocese, by writing² in proof of the Trisagion being addressed to the SON, although he confessed that the Ter Sanctus, in the fifth chapter of Isaiah, referred to the HOLY TRINITY. His Catholic successor Ephræm¹ (527—545) thought best to sanction the addition of Peter with the interpretation of Severus. The Thracian Diocese, on the contrary, instead of "Thou that wast crucified for us," inserted "HOLY TRINITY." It would seem that before S. John Damascene wrote, the simpler form was again in use all through the Catholic Church. This treatise which is short, is very sensible, and proves that so venerable a hymn ought not to be altered without great necessity ; whereas, in the instance before us, the addition was, at best, inconvenient, and at worst, heretical.

Of verbal differences, the only one we need notice is that of the Nestorian rite, which has "Holy, glorious, powerful, immortal, Who dwellest in the holies, and Thy will resteth in them ; look LORD upon us, be merciful, and pity us, as in all things Thou art the helper of all." But in this place, the Malabar Liturgy has the simple Trisagion ; it would appear originally, and not as an alteration of Menezes.

The Armeno-Gregorian rite varies the Trisagion with the day. Thus on all Fridays, the addition of Peter the Fuller

Theor. Lect., lib. ii.

² Le Quien possessed some MS. fragments of this work, which he describes in the above-quoted introduc-

tion.

¹ Ephræm. ad Zenon. Monophysit. ap. Phot. Cod. 228.

is used, on Christmas and the Circumcision, "Thou That didst manifest Thyself to us, have mercy upon us." On the Hypapante, and Palm Sunday, "Thou That dost come and art to come." On Maundy Thursday, "Thou That wast betrayed for us." On Easter Eve, "Thou That wast buried for us." On all Sundays, "Thou That didst arise from the dead." On Holy Thursday, "Thou That didst ascend with glory to the Father." On the Transfiguration, "Thou That didst shew Thyself on Mount Tabor." On the Assumption, "Thou That didst come to the decease of the Holy Mother and Virgin." On Whit-Sunday, the hymn is addressed to the HOLY GHOST; "Thou That didst descend upon the Apostles." In the Armeno-Roman rite these variations have been suppressed. The address to the HOLY GHOST shews that no heresy in the Incarnation is intended by the Armenians in the change. It is awkward, but that is all; and not so awkward as a phrase used by the Constantinopolitan Church in the responsory of the second antiphon on Whit-Sunday, "Son of God, gracious Paraclete, save us who sing to Thee Alleluia." An ill-natured critic might say that this is Sabelianism.

V. THE PROPHECY.

We now come to the lections, which form part of every known Liturgy. And the first we shall have to notice is one which does not now occur in the Constantinopolitan any more than in the Roman rite; namely, the Prophecy. The Greek rite of S. James alone in the East, retains it.

The original use of the Church, both East and West^m, was undoubtedly that there should be a lection of the Old, as well as the New Testament, in the Liturgy. The rubric in Greek S. James, "Then are read at length the sacred books of the Old Testament and of the Prophetsⁿ." The

^m We are not here concerned to discuss the question as to the use of the immediate Roman Church; concerning which Sala (i. 108) does not seem to have proved his assertion that there were

originally but Epistle and Gospel.

ⁿ Ἐπειτα ἀναγινώσκειται διεξοδικώτατα τὰ Ἱερα λόγια τῆς παλαιᾶς διαθήκης, καὶ τῶν Προφητῶν, κ. τ. λ.

Apostolic Canons speak of the reading of "the Law and Prophets and Epistles, and Acts, and Gospels." In the West, we find S. Gregory of Tours mentioning that in his time, before Mass, three books were laid on the Altar²; the Prophets, Epistles, and Gospels. A lectionary preserved by Mabillon assigns them to every festival of the year. This also was the case in the African Church³.

Of actually existing rites, Coptic S. Basil is the fullest, containing the Epistle of S. Paul, the Catholicon, or lection of the Catholic Epistles, the Acts, and the Gospel, but no prophecy. This is also the case in the Ethiopic Canon; but, in the Liturgy of S. Mark, as we have it now, no reference is made to any thing but the Epistle and Gospel. In the first Syro-Jacobite norm, a Psalm, proper for the day, precedes the Epistle and Gospel; in the second, there is no Psalm, but a lection from the Acts. The Mozarabic office has Prophecy, Epistle, and Gospel.

The Roman Missal, as is well known, has Prophecies at the Ember seasons, on the vigil of Pentecost, and on Good Friday and Easter Eve.

We pass on to

THE EPISTLE.

This, according to the rites of the East, is given by the Reader, who stands for that purpose at the royal doors, contrary to the practice of the West. It frequently, as I shall notice in my notes on that part of the service, is called the Apostle; and the book from which it is read in the Liturgy, as containing not only the Epistles, but the Acts, (as well as also the Revelation,) *Praxapostolus*¹. The Epistle

² Lib. viii. cap. 5: μετὰ τὴν ἀνάγνωσιν τοῦ νόμου καὶ τῶν προφητῶν, τῶν τε ἐπιστολῶν ἡμῶν καὶ τῶν πράξεων καὶ τῶν εὐαγγελίων, κ. τ. λ.

³ S. Greg. Tur. Hist. Franc. iv. 16. So also De Miraculis S. Martini, i. 5.

⁴ Tertullian. de Præscript., c. 36: Legem et Prophetas cum Apostolicis

libris miscet. S. Augustin., serm. 170: Has tres lectiones, quantum possumus, pertractemus.

⁵ Typicum Sabæ: μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἀνάγνωσιν τοῦ Πραξαποστόλου, κ. τ. λ. Triodion: ἀνάγνωσις εἰς τὸν πραξαπόστολον κ. τ. λ.

is frequently, in the Eastern as well as in the Western Church, taken from some other portion of Holy Scripture. For example, on S. George's day, the lection is from Acts xii.; on SS. Constantine and Helena, from Acts xxvi.; but the Old Testament is not thus read.

In all Liturgies, the Epistle is followed by

VI. THE GOSPEL AND SUBSEQUENT PRAYERS.

I have already spoken of the ambon, from which this is read; and shall in my notes to the following chapter explain the rites with which it is accompanied. In most of the Liturgies, the Gospel is followed by an ectene. Thus it is in S. Chrysostom, Coptic S. Basil, S. Mark, the Ethiopic Canon, the first Syro-Jacobite norm, Greek S. James. The Armenian* Liturgy only inserts the Nicene Creed before the ectene, and is therefore unique in allowing it to be heard by the Catechumens. The Mozarabic rite here has the Oblation of the Bread and Wine, which I shall presently have occasion to consider. The ectene concluded, there follows in the Constantinopolitan Liturgy a prayer for the Catechumens, paving, as it were, the way for their dismissal. So also in Coptic S. Basil, but in none of the other Liturgies. The next step, however, in all, is

THE EXPULSION OF THE CATECHUMENS,

preceded, in the Constantinopolitan ritual, by the Priest unfolding the *εἰλητόν*, or corporal, of which I have spoken at p. 187. I need here only observe that the formulæ of dismissal are not the same. S. Chrysostom, "As many as are Catechumens depart; Catechumens depart; as many as are Catechumens depart; let none of the Catechumens; let all the Faithful." S. Mark, "See that none of the Catechumens."

* It is curious to observe the great similarity, in this part, of the Armenian Liturgy and our own; Epistle, Gospel, Creed, and Ectene, immediately following each other in the one, as Epistle, Gospel, Creed, and Prayer for the Church Militant do in the other; the only difference being that, by the Armenians the Oblation is made just after the Ectene, by us in it.

Greek S. James. "Let none of the Catechumens: let none of the uninitiated, cast your eyes on each other; the doors: all upright." First Syro-Jacobite norm, "Go in peace, auditors: auditors, go in peace: ye that are baptized, draw nigh to peace: shut the doors." The Clementine, "Let no auditor, let no infidel." The other forms have no such direction: the Mozarabic, however, here inserts the words, *Incipit Missa*. But on the Wednesday of the first week in Lent, between the *Lauds* and the *Sacrificium*, the following rubric occurs: *Before the Priest washes his hands, he kneels before the Altar, and saith these prayers thus*; "Penitents pray, bend your knees to God. Let us beseech the Lord that He would give us remission of sins and peace. *V.* Raise yourselves in the name of CHRIST: having finished your prayer say together Amen. *R.* Amen. Stand in your places for Mass." And this or something resembling this was probably the Mozarabic dismissal of the Catechumens.

VII. THE PRAYERS FOR THE FAITHFUL.

The expulsion of the Catechumens is followed, in S. Chrysostom's Liturgy, by two "Prayers of the Faithful, after the unfolding of the corporal," while the Deacon says the short ectene twice. In S. Basil there is the same arrangement; though, singularly enough, the prayers here are shorter than in the other form. The same prayer, in S. James, is called that of Incense; and so also in S. Mark; in Coptic S. Basil and S. Gregory, "The prayer of the veil," which bears an analogy to the Constantinopolitan form.

This leads to

THE CHERUBIC HYMN.

This hymn is not older than the time of Justin, and is unknown to the Western Church. It is undoubtedly the poorest of the four liturgical hymns of the East. It occurs here in all the great Liturgies, (except the Clementine,) S. Chrysostom, S. Basil, S. Mark, S. James, but not in the heretical formularies except the Armenian; a clear proof of

the comparative lateness of its origin. S. Germanus tells us that it is intended to excite the Faithful, now approaching the most solemn part of the office, to a more thorough dismissal of worldly cares, and a more entire uplifting of the soul to Him Who is about to be received. The magnificent "prayer of the Cherubic Hymn," said secretly by the Priest while it is being chaunted, follows. Of that of S. Chrysostom and the controversy arising from it, I shall speak in the notes to the next chapter. That of S. James is as follows; "Let all flesh keep silence, and stand with fear and trembling, and think no thought of earth. For the KING of kings and LORD of lords, CHRIST our God, comes to be sacrificed, and to be fed upon by the Faithful. The choir of Angels precede Him, with every domination and power; the many-eyed Cherubim, and the Seraphim that have six wings, covering their faces, and shouting the hymn, Alleluia, Alleluia, Alleluia." In S. Mark alone is there no such prayer.

The Cherubic Hymn is immediately followed by

VIII. THE GREAT ENTRANCE,

or offertory, on which it will be necessary to dwell at greater length, beginning with the Constantinopolitan rite, as the clearest.

The Eucharistic Elements have, all this while, been left on the prothesis. When the Priest and Deacon have themselves said the Cherubic Hymn, the latter takes the censer, and having censed the Altar and bema, and said the fifty-first Psalm, and a few troparia, to himself, he precedes the Priest to the prothesis. The latter then lifts the air from the chalice and paten, lays it on the Deacon's shoulder, (the rubric says, his head, but it is more frequently the nape of his neck,) and on that the paten, covered of course with the asterisk and veil. The Deacon steadies these with his left hand, taking the censer in his right; the Priest follows him holding the chalice, and thus, preceded by tapers, they move round to the holy doors. It is the custom to lay sick or impotent people in the line of procession, for the Priests

and Deacons to step over; as this is supposed to possess a mystical virtue of healing. "The pomp of this procession, especially on high days, or when the Patriarch celebrates, is very great. Many of the Lectors go before with lighted tapers; Subdeacons, Deacons, Priests follow; then comes the Deacon with the disk, and the Priest with the chalice. Then several carry the various vessels and instruments to be used at the Altar, or to adorn it." "The Patriarch, if he be present, and does not celebrate, comes down from his throne a step or two, and he, and all the Metropolitans and Bishops present, adore the elements, pulling off their *ezochemalauche*, and all the rest of the people bow with reverence, every one according to the measure of his devotion."

On simple occasions, "in country churches, or poor villages, where there is no Deacon, and only one Priest to officiate, he takes the disk covered in his left hand, and so bears it on the nape of his neck, and carries the chalice covered in his right hand before his breast. . . . I have seen the same at holy fountains in the fields, and other holy places, where there are anniversary meetings upon some certain festivals, and only one Priest to officiate. . . . At these anniversary meetings there is commonly but one Altar made of brick, stone, or earth, which serves both for Altar and prothesis¹."

The Armenian Liturgy differs from that of Constantinople in that the Priest does not himself make the Great Entrance; he is prostrate at the Altar while they, in the words of the rubric, "carry the Holy Bread and Wine of Immortality to him." The only rubric in S. James, on the subject, orders the *Priest* to bring the Holy Gifts, and set them on the Altar. In S. Mark it is still more vague: "The Holy Things enter to the Altar." The rite of Coptic S. Basil (where, as we have seen, the Great Entrance comes at the very beginning of the Liturgy) I shall explain in the notes of the next chapter. The Mozarabic office contains no further directions, than that, "while the choir is singing Alleluia, the Priest is to offer the chalice and host on the Altar."

¹ Covell, p. 34.

The adoration of the unconsecrated elements by the people has given great scandal to many Latin, and some Greek, writers. It, however, is not a peculiarity of Constantinople, for we find it to exist in Ethiopia; where, as Alvarez^a informs us, the people fall down in reverence, and the bells are rung; in the Coptic Church; and, it appears, in the Syro-Jacobite.

Two explanations have been devised. The one is that of S. Simeon^x of Thessalonica, that the adoration is not intended for the elements, but as a mere salutation to the Priest, and as asking an interest in his prayers; the other, that of Gabriel of Philadelphia, that the consecrated elements are adored on account of their *μετουσίωσις*, transubstantiation, (he would have spoken more according to the mind of the Eastern Church if he had said *μεταπόλῃσις*, transmutation,) but the unconsecrated on account of their *ἀγιασμοῦ μετοχήν*, participation of sanctification. And this is probably the true explanation.

Arcudius^y is far too harsh in charging this anticipative adoration with idolatry of Bread and Wine. Yet Goar, who is evidently disposed to make the best of it, allows it to be dangerous; and where the people are ignorant, it must necessarily be apt to degenerate into great superstition.

IX, X. THE PRAYER OF OBLATION, AND KISS OF PEACE.

In many of the Oriental Liturgies a prayer for peace follows immediately after the Great Entrance; thus preparing the way for the kiss of peace. The Constantinopolitan family, however, has no such arrangement; the interval between the Entrance and the prayer of Oblation being filled up by short interlocutions between the Celebrant and Deacon and the conclusion of the ectene. The prayer for peace is, however, found in the Liturgy of S. Mark, in Coptic S.

^a Cap. ii. And see Renaudot, Orient. Lit., tom. i. p. 170; and tom. ii. p. 60. (Leslie's edition.)

^x *προσκύπτουσι πάντες τοῖς ιερεῦσιν οἱ πιστοὶ δικαίως τὰς αὐτῶν εὐχὰς ἐξαι-*

τούμενοι. Cabasilas grievously blames those who really *προσκύπτουσι τῷ ιερεῖ* do it *ὡς Σῶμα Χριστοῦ καὶ Αἷμα προσκυνοῦντες.*

^y Lib. iii. cap. 19.

Basil, and the Ethiopic Canon, though, in the latter, not till after the recitation of the Creed. In the Mozarabic ritual, the prayer for peace varies with the day. For example, on the feast of S. James: "Suscipe, JESU Bone, in hoc natali Jacobi Apostoli Tui offerentium vota, et refrigerium præsta spiritibus Defunctorum, ut, eo apud Te intercedente, et viventibus et defunctis Tuæ pietatis gratia impendatur, cujus doctrina duodecim Tribuum commorantium edocetur. Amen."

The prayer of Oblation follows; that is, the second of the three Oblations of which I have spoken at the beginning of the office of prothesis. The Constantinopolitan ritual has it with great formality; so has that of S. Mark; so also the Armenian Liturgy; though there is no connection between the form of the three. The Armenian calls itself, "A prayer of S. Athanasius, Patriarch of Alexandria."

The kiss of peace comes next. This, in the East, always precedes consecration, as it did also in the Gallican and Mozarabic rites. Whether S. Innocent I., in his celebrated Epistle to Decentius, merely stated the received custom of the early Roman Church, or introduced a novelty, when he ordered the kiss to be postponed till after the consecration, is warmly disputed between Basnage and Sala*. However this may be, the contrary custom has always prevailed in the East.

Lastly, we have to mention the

XI. NICENE CREED.

This precedes the anaphora in almost all Liturgies. In the Armenian it is said immediately after the Gospel; in the Mozarabic it follows consecration. In the former Liturgy the anathema of Nicæa, slightly enlarged, is also retained.

* Sala, iii. 352. These passages are to be compared; Basnage, Annal. Eccl. Polit., ann. 56. § 9; Walafrid. Strabo, De rit. Eccles. 33; Rupert.

Tuit. de Divin. Offic. 2. 21; Council of Aix-le-Chapelle, can. 53; Council of Frankfort, can. 5; S. Greg., Dial. iii. 36.

CHAPTER IV.

THE DIVINE AND HOLY LITURGY OF S. CHRYSOSTOM,
AS SAID IN THE GREAT CHURCH AND THE HOLY MOUNTAIN,
TRANSLATED FROM THE GREEK.

THE LITURGY OF THE ARMENIAN CHURCH,
TRANSLATED FROM THE RUSS VERSION OF ARCHBISHOP ABOGOUTINSKY
DOLGOROUKY.

THE COPTO-JACOBITE LITURGY OF S. BASIL,
TRANSLATED FROM THE LATIN VERSION OF HUSEBE BENAUDOT.

THE MOZARABIC OFFICE,
TRANSLATED FROM THE LATIN.
AND COMPARED AND PARALLELISED AS FAR AS THEIR RESPECTIVE
ANAPHORÆ.

WITH NOTES.

CHAPTER IV.

HAVING thus given some explanation of the proanaphoral portion of the Oriental Liturgies, I shall proceed to a translation of that part of the principal rites themselves.

The first is that of S. Chrysostom, now used (except on the few days appropriated to the office of S. Basil) through the whole of the Orthodox Eastern Church. I translate from the Venice edition of 1842; guarding myself by, and introducing a few rubrics from, the smaller Venice edition of 1839. From private information I have added a few provincialisms of the Russian Church. The Typicum has been at my side, which I refer to in the Venice edition of 1820, as, it is needless to say, have Allatius, Goar, and Du Cange.

The second is the Armenian. For this I am indebted, as I have explained in the Preface, to the very great kindness of the Rev. R. W. Blackmore. The translation which I give is, with one or two slight alterations, his, made from the Russ version of Archbishop Argoutinsky Dolgorouky, Archbishop of the Armenians in Russia, and himself an Armenian by the mother's side; which was published in 1799 at S. Petersburg. The Russ version is therefore necessarily correct; and Mr. Blackmore's translation has been read by both Armenians and Russians, who have commended its fidelity. The observations of M. Mouravieff, in his late tour in Georgia and Armenia, on the Armenian rites, have been of use to me. I have also availed myself of the *Liturgia Armena Trasportata in Italiano per cura del P. Gabriele Avedichian: 2^a Ediz. Venezia. 1832*. This contains the Uniat rite; and is valuable for its plates.

The third is the Copto-Jacobite Liturgy of S. Basil, which I have translated from Renaudot's version of the Coptic form.

The fourth is the Mozarabic, which I give as the connecting link of the Eastern and Western rites. I have translated from the magnificent edition of Faustinus Arevalus, Rome, 1804: consulting however those of Lorenzana, Archbishop of Mexico and subsequently of Toledo, Angelopolis, 1774; and Leslie, Rome, 1755.

† C. INTROITUM.

ARMENIAN*.

Deacon. *Sce.* give the blessing.

Priest. Blessed be the kingdom of the FATHER, the SON, and the HOLY GHOST, now and ever, and to ages of ages.

Choir. Amen.

Deacon. In peace let us make our supplications to the LORD.

Choir. Kyrie eleison : 'and so at the end of every petition.'

Deacon. For the peace that is from above, and for the salvation of our souls, let us make our supplications to the LORD.

For the peace of the whole world, the stability of the holy Churches of God, and the union of all, let.

For this holy house, and them

Deacon. *Sce.* give the blessing.

Priest. Blessed be the kingdom of the FATHER, the SON, and the HOLY GHOST, now and ever, and to all ages. Amen.

Choir[†]. Only-begotten SON, Word of God, Who, though not subject to death, didst condescend for the sake of our salvation to be incarnate of the Holy Mother of God and Ever-Virgin Mary, and wast truly, O CHRIST our God, made man and crucified ; and by Thy death didst destroy death ; Thou, Who art One of the TRINITY, glorified together with the HOLY GHOST, save us[‡].

Deacon. Again and again in peace let us make our supplications to the LORD.

* It is a regulation of the Armenian Church, that the Liturgy is not to be celebrated excepting on Saturday and Sunday ; a rule only to be set aside during the great fast ; and when any great festival of our LORD or His Mother occurs. The excuse is, the respect which they feel for that holy mystery. On ordinary days, as a substitute for the Liturgy, they recite terce, sexts,

and nones by aggregation. See Mouravieff, Georgia and Armenia, i. 72. It is strange that a Church which has borrowed so much from Rome, should, in so important a matter, differ from it more widely than does any other Oriental Communion.

† This is the celebrated hymn, *Only-Begotten*, of which I have spoken in the last chapter : it has, in its Armenian

COPTIC S. BASIL.

The prayer after the Altar is prepared.

THOU, LORD, hast taught us this great mystery of salvation; Thou hast called us, Thy poor and unworthy servants, to be ministers of Thy holy Altar. Make us worthy, O LORD, by the virtue of the HOLY GHOST, to accomplish this ministry: that we may not incur judgment in the sight of Thy great glory, and may offer to Thee this sacrifice of benediction, and by it glory and praise, in Thy holy place. God, the Giver of grace and the Author of salvation, Who workest all in all, grant that our sacrifice may be acceptable before Thee, for my sins, and for the errors of Thy people, for it is pure, as the gift of Thy HOLY SPIRIT, through JESUS CHRIST our LORD, with Whom, &c.

The prayer of thanksgiving.

Let us render thanks to the merciful Author of all good things,

MOZARABIC.

After the Priest hath put on his vestments, he saith,

R. FATHER, I have sinned against heaven and before Thee, and am no more worthy to be called Thy son: make me as one of Thy hired servants.

V. How many hired servants of my Father's have bread enough and to spare: and I perish with hunger. I will arise and go to my Father, and will say unto Him,

R. Make me as one of Thy hired servants.

Kyrie eleison.

Christe eleison.

Kyrie eleison.

Our FATHER.

V. Cleanse Thou me, O LORD, from my secret faults:

R. And keep back Thy servant from presumptuous sins.

V. O LORD, hear my prayer.

R. And let my cry come unto Thee.

Let us pray.

God, Which makest the unworthy to be worthy, the sinner to be just, and the impure to be

version, acquired a few verbal differences.

* At the approach to the Altar, where the service is performed with full pomp, the rites are these. There are six Deacons, and nine Sub-deacons; one Deacon only has a censer. The Celebrant wears his cap, the rest are bare-headed. The Priest stands before the Altar, a Deacon holding his phelo-

nion on each side: the Deacon on the left having the censer. On the step below, are two more Deacons; the remaining two on the step below that; while the Subdeacons stand much further to the west, forming the arc of a very large circle. The Gospels lie on a veil towards the north part of the Altar; the book which the Celebrant is to use is on the south.

E. CHERUBIM.

AMERICAN.

that in faith, purity, and the fear of God enter into it, let.

For our Archbishop N., the venerable Presbyter, the Deacon, in CHRIST, all the Clergy and the laity, let.

For our most pious and divinely preserved Kings, all their palace and their army, let.

That He would fight on their side, and subdue every enemy and adversary under their feet, let.

For this holy abode, the whole city and country, and them that inhabit it, in faith, let.

For healthfulness of air, plenty of the fruits of the earth, and peaceful times, let.

For them that voyage, that journey, that are sick, that labour, that are in bonds, and their safety, let.

That we may be preserved from all tribulation, passion, danger, and necessity, let.

Assist, preserve, pity, and protect us, O God, by Thy grace.

Commemorating the all holy, spotless, excellently laudable, and glorious Lady, the Mother of God and Ever-Virgin Mary, with All Saints, let us commend ourselves and each other and all our life to CHRIST our God.

Choir. To Thee, O LORD.

Priest, aloud. For all glory, worship, and honour befits Thee,

Assist, preserve, succour, and have mercy upon us.

Sir, give the blessing.

Priest. Blessing and glory be to the FATHER, the SON, and the HOLY GHOST, now and ever, and to all ages. Amen.

Peace be with all.

Choir. And with thy spirit.

Deacon. Let us pray unto the LORD.

Choir. Unto Thee, O LORD.

⁴ In this place the revision of Cardinal Ximenes inserts several verses and

COPTIC S. BASIL.

GOD, the Father of our LORD and GOD and SAVIOUR JESUS CHRIST, because He hath protected, assisted, and succoured us, and hath called us to Himself, and hath had pity on us, and brought us on to this hour. Let us now pray Him that He would preserve us this holy day, and all the days of our life, in all peace, O Omnipotent LORD GOD.

Deacon. Pray.

Priest. LORD GOD Omnipotent, FATHER of our LORD and GOD and SAVIOUR JESUS CHRIST, we yield Thee thanks for all things, and in all things; for that Thou hast protected us, assisted us, preserved us, called us to Thee, and hast had mercy on us; hast given us help, and brought us on to this hour.

Deacon. Pray that God may have mercy upon us.

Priest. Wherefore we pray and beseech Thy goodness, O Lover of men, that Thou wouldest grant us to pass this holy day and all the days of our life in peace, with Thy fear. Repel all envy, all temptation, every work of Satan, every counsel of wicked men, and assaults of enemies whether visible or invisible, from Thy people and from this holy place: but order in us what is good and well-pleasing to Thee. For Thou hast given us the power of treading on serpents and scorpions,

MOZARABIC.

pure, cleanse my heart and my body from all thought and pollution of sin, and make me a worthy and diligent minister at Thy holy Altars; and grant that, on this Altar, to which I, unworthy, presume to draw near, I may offer to Thee acceptable sacrifices for my sins and offences and innumerable daily transgressions, and for the sins of all the living and departed faithful, and of them that have commended themselves to my prayers: and let my prayers be acceptable to Thee through Him, Who offered Himself to Thee, GOD the FATHER, for a Sacrifice, Who is the Maker of all things, and the only High-Priest without spot of sin, JESUS CHRIST, Thy SON our LORD, Who liveth &c.

The Lord be with you.

R. And with thy spirit.

Let us pray ^d.

Remove from us, O LORD, we beseech Thee, all our iniquities, and the spirit of haughtiness and pride which Thou resistest; and fill us with the spirit of fear, and give us a humble and contrite heart, which Thou wilt not despise: that we may merit to enter with pure minds into the Holy of Holies: through our LORD JESUS CHRIST, &c.

And immediately he goes to the Altar, and makes a cross thereon, saying,

responses from the Roman and Toledo Missals, as also the *Confiteor*.

S. CHRYSOSTOM.

ARMENIAN.

FATHER, SON, and HOLY GHOST,
now and ever, and to ages of
ages. Amen.

The first antiphon is sung by the Choir, and the Priest saith the prayer of the first antiphon. The Deacon, having made a reverence, leaves his place, and goes and stands before the icon of the Mother of GOD, looking towards the icon of CHRIST, taking hold of his horarion with three fingers of his right hand.*

The first part of the Psalms of the day is sung by the Choir.

Prayer of the first antiphon.

The Priest meanwhile saith this prayer.

LORD our GOD, of boundless
might, and incomprehensible

LORD our GOD of boundless

* This rubric is not given in the older editions. In the Russian Church it is worded differently, but with the same meaning. "The Deacon goes and stands before the icon of CHRIST." But both directions simply place him on the north side of the holy doors, under

the icon of the Panaghia, there, as I have said, represented.

† I here omit an antiphon of the Cross, and a few prayers inserted by Ximenes.

‡ Undoubtedly the ancient Mozarabic rite postponed the extension of the cor-

COPTIC S. BASIL.

and on all the power of the enemy. And lead us not into temptation, but deliver us from evil, through the grace and mercy and love to men of Thine Only-Begotten SON, our LORD and GOD and SAVIOUR JESUS CHRIST, with Whom, &c.

MOZARABIC.

In the Name of the FATHER, and of the SON, and the HOLY GHOST. Amen^f.

When the Priest spreadeth the corporal^s, he saith,

Let these our gifts, O LORD, be well pleasing in Thy sight, that we may be accepted by Thee. Lift up your heads, O ye gates, and be ye lift up, ye everlasting doors, and the King of Glory shall come in. Who is the King of Glory? The LORD strong and mighty; the LORD mighty in battle; the LORD of Hosts, He is the King of Glory.

Then follows the Ad Missam Officium, or antiphona, varying with the day; e. g. on ordinary Sundays.

The LORD reigneth, He is clothed with majesty; Alleluia.

V. The LORD hath clothed and girded Himself with strength.

Precentor. Alleluia.

V. Glory and honour^h be to the FATHER, and to the SON, and to the HOLY GHOST.

Precentor. Alleluia.

Priest. Always, for all ages of ages.

R. Amen.

poral till just before the commencement of the anaphora, as the Oriental offices do now. The present prayer seems an aggregation of two; the one said when the Deacon covered the chalice with its veil, at the beginning of the mass; the other, "Lift up your

heads," &c., when, before the prayer *post nomina*, he raised it.

^h Glory and honour was a peculiar use of the Spanish Church; and even enjoined under pain of anathema in the (properly speaking the sixth, but usually named) fourth Council of Toledo.

S. CHRYSOSTOM.

ARMENIAN.

glory, and measureless compassion, and ineffable love to man, look down, O LORD, according to Thy tender love, on us, and on this holy house, and shew to us, and to them that pray with us, the riches of Thy mercies and compassions.

And after the antiphon hath been sung, the Deacon comes and stands in the accustomed place, adores and says,

Again and again in peace let us make our supplications to the LORD.

Assist, preserve, pity, and protect us, O GOD.

Commemorating our most holy, undefiled, excellently laudable, glorious Lady, &c.

Exclamation. For Thine is the strength, and Thine is the kingdom, the power and the glory, FATHER, &c.

In like manner the Choir sing the second antiphon. The Deacon doth the same as in the former prayer.

might, as in the *Liturgy of S. Chrysostom.*)

Choir. Let the whole earth bless CHRIST the King with a song of praise.

O all the whole earth, bring a

¹ At the conclusion of this prayer, the Priest goes to the Prothesis, as we find the directions given in the *Scientia Ecclesiastica*. "After that which hath been said above, the Priest goes to the Takaddemet, from which he shall take the 'lamb,' looking attentively that there be no flaw in it, &c. When he hath all that he needs, the lamb, the wine, the incense, the coals, &c., he takes the lamb in his hand, and wipes it lightly, as CHRIST the LORD was first washed with water, before He was

presented to Simeon the Priest:" the writer seems to confound our LORD's presentation in the temple with Simeon's taking Him up in his arms;—"then he shall bear it round to the Altar in his hands, as Simeon bare Him round the temple." That is, the Great Entrance here takes place, instead of being deferred, as in the Greek Liturgies, till after the Gospel. "At last the Priest shall lay it down on the Altar, and shall place it on the diak, which signifies the cradle: and shall

COPTIC S. BASIL.

MOZARABIC.

*The prayer of Oblation*¹.

LORD JESUS CHRIST, the Only-Begotten SON, the Word of GOD the FATHER, and consubstantial with Him, and co-eternal, and with the HOLY GHOST: Thou art the Living Bread which came down from heaven, and didst give Thy perfect and unspotted soul for the life of the world: we pray and beseech Thy goodness, O Lover of men, to cause Thy face to shine upon this Bread and upon this Cup, which we have placed upon this Thy Priestly Table; bless + them, sanctify + them, and consecrate + them; change them, that this Bread may become Thy holy Body, and that which is mingled in this Cup, Thy precious Blood; that they may be to us all the safeguard, the medicine, the salvation of our souls, bodies, and spirits: for Thou art our God, and to Thee &c.

Then the Priest covers the disk and the chalice, each with its own veil; then he kisseth the Altar, and turning to its south side, adores God, and again kisseth the Altar.

cover it with a linen veil, as the Virgin did at His nativity."—Gabriel-ebn-Tarik says, "Then he wraps the bread in a veil of silk, a Deacon with a taper preceding him. In like manner another Deacon holds on his head the cruet, wrapped in a veil of silk, a Deacon with a taper preceding him, and they go round the Altar once. Then the Priest puts the Oblation in his left hand, and signs it thrice with the cross: the same he doeth to the

cruet, which the Deacon holds in a silken veil." We learn from Alvarez that—as in the Greek Church—the bells, where there are any, are rung: and the elements adored with anticipative honour. Renaudot confuses the whole account, by calling the next prayer the prayer of Illation of the Bread and Chalice, instead of the Bread and Wine, it being evident that the chalice has been on the Altar since the middle of the prayer of preparation.

S. CHRYSOSTOM.

ARMENIAN.

song of thanksgiving to the Creator of heaven and earth.

Let us bring honour and worship to the TRINITY, and to the One Godhead, world without end. Amen.

The prayer of the second antiphon.

LORD our GOD, save Thy people, and bless Thine inheritance : guard the fulness of Thy Church : hallow them that love the beauty of Thine house. Glorify them in recompense with Thy divine power : and forsake not them that put their trust in Thee.

Deacon. Again and again, in peace, &c.

Assist, preserve, &c.

Commemorating the most holy, &c.

Exclamation. For Thou art the good GOD, and the lover of men, and to Thee we ascribe, &c.

The prayer of the third antiphon^k.

Thou, Who hast given us grace, at this time, with one accord, to make our common supplica-

The Priest meanwhile saith secretly, LORD our GOD,—as in the Liturgy of S. Chrysostom.

Peace be with all.

Thou, Who hast given us grace, &c., as in the Liturgy of S. Chrysostom.

^k It would be curious to trace how this prayer came into our Prayer-Book : for there is no reason to suppose the reformers intimately acquainted with the formularies of the Eastern Church.

^l This prayer, which is very famous in the annals of the Coptic Church, is

remarkable as being ordered not to be said by the Celebrant if another Priest be present. Cyril ben Laklak, in his Synodal Constitutions, specifies among the duties of an Hegumen, that of pronouncing this prayer over the Celebrant. This he does in his place, as we learn

COPTIC S. BASIL.

MOZARABIC.

Then he comes down, and pronounces the absolution upon the Clerks sitting before him : but if there be another Priest present, he, and not the Celebrant, shall pronounce the Prayer of Absolution to the Son¹.

O LORD JESU CHRIST, the Only-Begotten SON, the Word of GOD the FATHER, Who by Thy salutary and life-giving passion, hast burst in sunder all the chains of our sins ; Who didst breathe on the faces of Thine holy Apostles, saying unto them, Receive ye the HOLY GHOST ; whose sins soever ye remit, they are remitted unto them, and whose sins soever ye retain, they are retained ; Thou hast also, O LORD, made choice by the same Thine Apostles, of them that should always discharge the office of the Priesthood in Thy holy Church, to the end that they may remit sins upon the earth, and bind and loose all the bonds of iniquity. We pray and beseech Thy goodness, O Thou lover of men, for Thy servants our fathers, our brethren, and our own infirmity, who now bow down our heads before Thy holy glory : shew us Thy loving-kindness, and burst all the chains of our sins. And

from Abu'lberkat. The prayer was not considered of sacramental efficacy, but simply as designed for the remission of venial sins ; till, as I have related, auricular confession was for a time abolished ; and then the prayer in ques-

tion was supposed to supply its place. A remarkable instance of its use will be found in the History of Alexandria, vol. ii. p. 116. It is forbidden by Cyril ben Laklak to be said on Good Friday.

3. CHRYSMOSM.

ANAGENAN.

tion unto Thee : and dost promise that when two or three are gathered together in Thy Name, Thou wilt grant their requests : fulfil now, O Lord, the desires and petitions of Thy servants, as may be most expedient for them : granting us in this world knowledge of Thy truth, and, in the world to come, life everlasting.

And while the third antiphon is being sung by the Choir, or, if it be Sunday, the Beatitudes^m,

The Choir sing a hymn :

when they come to the Doro-logy, the Priest and Deacon make three reverences before the holy Table. Then the Priest, taking the holy Gospel, giveth it to the Deacon. And thus, going through the north portion of the sanctuary, preceded by lamps, they make the LITTLE ENTRANCE.

[the LITTLE ENTRANCE is made.]

Deacon, in a low voice. Let us make our supplications to the LORD.

Priest, secretly, saith

^m It is strange that Goar should not have known that our Lord's Beatitudes

were here intended ; or at least should not have been certain of it. "Hymni,"

COPTIC S. BASIL.

MOZARABIC.

if we have offended against Thee by knowledge or ignorance, or by hardness of heart, by word, by deed, or by weakness, do Thou, O LORD, Which knowest the frailty of man, Which art gracious, and the lover of men, give unto us the remission of our sins: bless us and purify us, absolve us and all Thy people: fill us with Thy fear, and direct us into Thy holy and gracious will; for Thou art our GOD, and to Thee with Thy good FATHER and the HOLY GHOST, all honour and glory is now and evermore to be ascribed. Thy servants who this day have the office of the ministry, the Priests, the Deacons, and Clergy, all the people and my own weakness, let them be absolved by the mouth of the HOLY TRINITY, the FATHER, the SON, and the HOLY GHOST: and by the mouth of the one, only, holy, Catholic, and Apostolic Church: by the mouth of the twelve Apostles, and by the mouth of the wise Mark, Apostle and Martyr: by the mouth also of the Patriarch Saint Severus, and of our holy Doctor Dioscorus; of S. John Chrysostom, S. Cyril, S. Basil, S. Gregory, of the three hundred also that met at Nicæa, of the hundred and fifty at Constantinople, of the hundred at

says he, "sanctorum beatitudinis memoriam recolentes: vel potius eæ beatitudines de quibus S. Matthæi v.: vel

tandem pia viventium vota pro defunctorum requie."

S. CHRYSOSTOM.

ARMENIAN.

The prayer of the Entrance.

Master, LORD, and our God,
Who hast disposed in heaven
troops and armies of Angels and
Archangels, for the ministry of
Thy glory: grant that with our
entrance there may be an entrance
of holy Angels, ministering to-
gether with us, and with us glorify-
ing Thy goodness.

For to Thee is due all honour,
&c.

The Priest saith,

Master, LORD and GOD, &c.,
*as in the Liturgy of S. Chrysos-
tom.*

Deacon. Sir, give the bless-
ing.

Priest. For Thine is the king-
dom, the power, and the glory, for
ever and ever. Amen.

▪ The rites here are rather elaborate. The Celebrant, after kissing the Altar-steps and the Altar, receives the thurible from the Deacon, and takes the boat, and turning to the Priests and Clerks, says, Bless. They reply, Thyself bless. He signs the boat with the cross, saying, In the Name of the FATHER, and of the SON, and of the HOLY GHOST. Then he burns incense five times, saying at the

1. Blessed be the FATHER, LORD GOD Omnipotent. Amen.

2. Blessed be the Only-Begotten SON, JESUS CHRIST our LORD. Amen.

3. Blessed be the HOLY GHOST, the Paraclete. Amen.

4, 5. Blessing and glory and honour and praise be to the Holy TRINITY, FATHER, SON, and HOLY GHOST, now and ever, and to ages of ages. Amen.

After this he says the *prayer of the incense*, which requires a few observations. The effect of the prayer of absolution was not supposed to be complete till the prayer of incense; and indeed the more

COPTIC S. BASIL.

MOZARABIC.

Ephesus, and by the mouth of my humility, who am a sinner: for blessed and full of glory is Thy holy Name, FATHER, SON, and HOLY GHOST, now and ever, world without end. Amen.

The prayer of incenseⁿ.

God eternal and without beginning or end, great in Thy precepts and mighty in Thy works, Who art everywhere, and in all things: be with us sinners, O LORD, in this hour: abide in the midst of all of us, purify our hearts, and sanctify our souls; cleanse us from all the sins that we have committed, voluntarily or involuntarily. Grant that we may offer unto Thee reasonable sacrifices, sacrifices of benediction, and spiritual incense. Let it enter within the veil, into the place of the Holy of Holies. Remember our venerable Father and blessed Archbishop and Pope, Anba N.; and our Father and Bishop, Anba N. Remember, LORD, our congregations, and

ignorant among the Copts seem actually to have believed that the incense was offered as a propitiatory sacrifice. This followed not unnaturally from the words which their Church put in their mouths. "Receive, LORD, this incense which is offered to Thee by the Priest for our sins." And when confession was abolished by John ben Abugaleb, and Mark ben Zaraq, acknowledgment of sins to God at home was not thought sufficient, unless a lighted censer was placed

in the same apartment. So monstrous an abuse in course of time corrected itself. In the ritual of Gabriel, we find the Priest instructed to say, after the confession and the burning of incense, "God, Which didst on the glorious Cross receive the confession of the penitent thief, receive the confession of Thy people, and forgive all their sin, for the sake of the holy Name whereby they are named."

3. CHERYSSON.

ARMENIAN.

The prayer being finished, the Deacon pointing with his right hand to the east, and holding his horarion with three fingers, saith to the Priest,

Sir, bless the Holy Entrance.

Priest. Blessed be the entrance of Thy Saints, always, now and ever, and to ages of ages.

Then the Deacon thus goes to the Hegumen, if any be present, who kisseth the Gospel: but if none be present, the Priest kisseth it.

The Priest and Deacon go to the Altar and kiss it:

And when the troparia^o are ended,

The hymn (=the Constantinopolitan troparia) is sung.

the Deacon comes forth into the middle, and standing before the Priest, raiseth his hands a little, and shewing the holy Gospel, saith with a loud voice,

Wisdom, stand up^p.

^o For an explanation of troparia, see the third chapter of the next book.

^p This seems the more natural reading: but the Venice edition of 1839, and others, read, σοφία, ἀφελⁱ which must be interpreted to mean, "In wisdom stand up;" and thus to be a warning against the sin and folly of now sitting.

¹ This he does three times. The first time he says, "God preserve the life of our venerable Father and Archbishop Anba N." The second, "Keep and preserve him to us for many years and peaceful seasons." The third, "Bruise all his enemies under his feet quickly." He censures a Bishop also

COPTIC S. BASIL.

MOZARABIC.

bless them, that without let or perturbation we may celebrate them according to Thy holy and blessed will, in houses of prayer, houses of purity, houses of holiness, houses of benediction. Grant that we may possess them, O LORD, we and Thy servants that shall come after us, for ever. Let God arise, and let His enemies be scattered ; let them also that hate Him flee before Him. And let Thy people enjoy thousand thousand, and ten thousands of thousands of blessings, and accomplish Thy will, through the grace and mercy and love to man of Thine Only-Begotten SON, our LORD and GOD and SAVIOUR JESUS CHRIST ; by Whom, &c.

He goes round the Altar with incense once, he kisses it, he comes down the left foot foremost, he turns to the east, and burns incense thrice, and saith as before : then he censens the Patriarch^a, if he be present, apart from others ; if he be absent, he censens the Priests, not others. Then he makes a reverence.

thrice. The first time he says, "Remember, LORD, our Father and Bishop Anba N." The second and third as for a Patriarch. He censens an Archimandrite twice. The first time he says, "I ask thy blessing, my Father and Hegumen Anba N. ; remember me in thy prayers." The second, "Preserve

him in peace and perfection." The Hegumen replies, "God preserve thy Priesthood, as that of Melchisedech, Aaron, Zachariah, and Simeon, Priests of the Most High God." A Priest is censened but once ; and the address and reply are the same, *mutatis mutandis*, as for an Hegumen.

S. CHRYSOSTOM.

ARMENIAN.

Then he himself adores, and the Priest behind him : and they both go to the holy bema, and the Deacon puts down the holy Gospel upon the holy Table, and the Choir sing the accustomed troparia, and when they are singing the last, the Deacon saith,

Let us make our supplications to the LORD^r.

Priest. For holy art Thou, our God ; and we ascribe glory to Thee, FATHER, SON, and HOLY GHOST, now and for ever.

Deacon. And to ages of ages.

Choir. Amen.

The Choir sing the trisagion. Holy God, Holy and Mighty, Holy and Immortal, have mercy upon us, *five times.*

In the meantime the Priest saith secretly

The prayer of the trisagion.

God, Which art holy, and restest in the holy places, Who art

Deacon. Let us attend.

The Choir sing the trisagion^r. Holy God, Holy and Mighty, Holy and Immortal, Thou That wast crucified for us, have mercy upon us.

Priest. God, Which art holy, *as in the Liturgy of S. Chrysostom.*

^r In the older copies this is thus given : " Sir, bless the time of the trisagion."

^r I have said, in the last chapter, that this insertion varies with the season. " I felt a pang," says M. Mouravieff, " when I heard the addition of these words, ' Thou That wast crucified for us.' If you please I will receive the Armenian explanation : still, however, I do not the less complain of the difference : although it be no more in a doctrine, but merely in an ancient rite." During the singing of the trisagion, by a peculiar use of the Armenian

Church, the silver fans, of which I shall speak presently, are vibrated, as a symbol of the trembling of the wings of the Seraphim as they surround the throne of God. The fan undoubtedly at first served to keep insects from the holy gifts ; but it is now usually made of silver. It is of very early date : we find it mentioned in the Apostolic Canons, (viii. 12,) where it is ordered to be made of peacocks' feathers or linen. But now its use is altogether mystical ; but *what* the mystery signified is, ritualists are not agreed. S. Symeon will have it that, as the Dea-

COPTIC S. BASIL.

MOZARABIC.

*Priest. Glory*¹—*The choir continue*—be to God on high: and on earth, &c.; down to, in the glory of God the FATHER. Amen.*V.* Always, for all ages of ages.*R.* Amen.*The prayer after Gloria in Excelsis*², *varying with the day*, e. g. *at Christmas*.To-day a Treasure is born to us.
To-day the lantern of the Virgin,

cons represent the Angels, so the fans symbolize the angelic wings (p. 225.) Sguropulus agrees with him, (Conc. Flor. iii. 17,) while S. Germanus takes their vibration to signify the tremor and astonishment of the heavenly spirits at our LORD's Passion. It is certain that the symbolism of these fans is not so well defined in the Greek as in the Armenian Church; nor are they so numerous in the former as in the latter. In Byzantine churches there are not usually more than two, which are waved on each side of the holy gifts at the Great Entrance. They were

formerly in use in the Latin Church, as we learn from S. Hildebert of Mans, (Epist. 7,) but are at present confined to the immediate attendants of the Pope.

¹ Except, now, during Advent, Lent, and common feræ; but the ancient use prescribed it always. On S. John Baptist's day, Benedictus is sung instead.

² This prayer is usually the same with the *Oratio Missæ*, further on. It frequently, however, for a series of Sundays, as those after Epiphany, is repeated; and generally, in high festivals, it differs from the Missa.

S. CHRYSOSTOM.

ARMENIAN.

hymned with the sound of the trisagion by the Seraphim, and glorified by the Cherubim, and adored by all the heavenly powers: Thou Who didst from nothing call all things into being; Who didst make man after Thine image and likeness, and didst adorn him with all Thy graces; Who givest to him that seeketh wisdom and understanding, and passest not by the sinner, but dost give repentance on salvation; Who hast vouchsafed that we, Thy humble and unworthy servants, should stand even at this time before the glory of Thy holy Altar, and should pay to Thee the worship and praise that is meet: receive, LORD, out of the mouth of us sinners the hymn of the trisagion, and visit us in Thy goodness. Forgive us every offence, voluntary and involuntary. Sanctify our souls and bodies, and grant that we may serve Thee in holiness all the days of our life; through the intercessions of the Holy Mother of God, and all the Saints who have pleased Thee since the beginning of the world. *Aloud.* For holy art Thou, our God, and to Thee, &c.

When this prayer is finished, the Priest also and Deacon say the trisagion, making at the same time three reverences before the holy Table. Then the Deacon saith to the Priest,

Ectene *. Again and again in peace let us make our supplications to the LORD.

Choir. LORD have mercy.

For the peace of the world, and the establishment of the holy Church, let.

* Here, as elsewhere in the Armenian rite, the longer *ectene* is chaunted by

COPTIC S. BASIL.

MOZARABIC.

kindled by the HOLY GHOST, hath manifested True Light. To-day the Physician of the blind is born. To-day the Health of the infirm. To-day the Strength of them that are weak, the Healing of them that are sick. To-day the Resurrection of the dead, our SAVIOUR, comes. To-day a new Light hath appeared to us in the starry night. To-day our SAVIOUR approaches, Whom the Prophets had foretold, that He should be born of the Virgin Mary. To-day the everlasting Bread of Light is shewn to us, lying in a manger; Who said, I am the true Bread that came down from heaven: if any man eat of this Bread he shall never hunger. Grant us, LORD, by the virtue of Thy nativity, to be freed from our own ills, and ever to glory in Thy praises.

R. Amen.

V. Through Thy mercy, our God, Who art blessed, and livest and governest all things, for ever and ever.

R. Amen.

the whole body of Priests and Deacons, the shorter one being said by the Deacon alone.

* CHRISTOSTOM.

ANAPHORA.

Sir give the voice. *And say
ye towards the throne.*

And the Priest shall so say.

Blessed is he that cometh in
the name of the Lord.

Deacon. Sir, bless the throne.

Priest. Blessed art Thou upon
the throne of Thy glory. Who
sittest upon the Cherubim a-
bove, now and ever, and to ages
of ages.

For all holy and orthodox
Bishops &c.

For our Lord the most holy
Father, Nectarios, for his
health and the salvation of his
soul, &c.

For our Archbishop N., &c.

For all Venerable Fathers, Dea-
cons, Subdeacons, and all the
Clergy, &c.

For [the Emperor, the imperial
family, N—, N—,] the court
and camp, &c.

For those souls that have de-
parted to rest, who, in the true
and orthodox faith, repose in
Canaan, &c.

Let us further pray for the
unity of our true and holy faith.

We will devote ourselves and
each other to the Lord God
Almighty.

Choir. We will devote our-
selves unto Thee, O Lord.

Deacon. Let us all say, with
one accord, In the greatness of
Thy mercy have mercy upon us
O Lord our God.

Choir. Lord, have mercy.
Thrice.

Deacon. Sir, give the blessing.

*Then the Priest, lifting up his
hands, saith, secretly,*

Lord our God, accept this
intense[†] prayer of Thy servants,
and in the multitude of Thy mer-

[†] That is, to sit down. Goar com-
pares the modern Greek, *spare pē nē-*
fyē. This is much better than King's

explanation, who imagines it to be in-
terpolated by mistake from the Ordina-
tion Service.

COPTIC S. BASIL.

MOZARABIC.

⁷ This clearly proves that the Armenians took the *ἀκροῦν ἱκεσίαν* to be so called from its fervour: and not, as the Greeks generally say, from its length.

S. CHRYSOSTOM.

ARMENIAN.

cies have mercy upon us, and on all Thy people, who put their trust in the riches of Thy grace.
Exclamation. For Thou art our merciful God, and the lover of men : and to Thee we ascribe, &c.

The Choir begins the Psalms of the day.*

Then the Prophecy.

* These answer to the Mozarabic *Psalterium*, which follows the Prophecy :

COPTIC S. BASIL.

MOZARABIC.

A lection of the book of ———
the Prophet.

R. Thanks be to God.

The Prophecy is read.

R. Amen.

*Then on the greater Festivals
a part of the Hymn of the Three
Children.*

Priest. O give thanks unto the
LORD, for He is gracious; be-
cause His mercy endureth for
ever.

R. Amen.

V. The LORD be ever with
you.

R. And with thy spirit.

*The Choir sing the Psalter, or
Psallendo, varying with the day;
e. g., on the fourth Sunday after
Pentecost.*

I will sing unto the LORD, be-
cause He hath dealt so lovingly
with me; yea, I will praise the
Name of the LORD most Highest.

V. I will hope in Thy mercy;

and of which presently.

S. CHRYSOSTOM.

ARMENIAS.

COPTIC S. BASIL.

MOZARABIC.

and my heart shall be joyful in
Thy salvation.

R. Yea, I will praise the Name
of the LORD most Highest.

Deacon. Keep silence. *And
he puts the wine in the chalice,
while the Epistle is read.*

*When he cleanseth the chalice,
he saith,*

Vouchsafe, O LORD, to cleanse
this vessel, in which I may re-
ceive Thy precious and holy Body,
Who with the FATHER, &c.

When he pours in the wine.

Mingle, O LORD, we beseech
Thee, in this chalice, that which
flowed from Thy side; that it
may be to the remission of our
sins. Amen.

The benediction of the water.

Deacon. Sir, bless.

Priest. Let it be blessed by
Him, Whose SPIRIT moved upon
the waters. In the Name of the
FATHER, &c. Amen.

From the Side of our LORD
JESUS CHRIST blood and water
are testified to have proceeded;
therefore we, in like manner,
mingle these. Water is poured
in that the God of mercy may
vouchsafe to sanctify both to the
healing of our souls, through the
same CHRIST our LORD. Amen.

*When he placeth the Sacrifice in
the paten, he saith,*

The blessing of GOD the
FA + THER ALMIGHTY, the
SON, and the HOLY GHOST, de-
scend upon this Sacrifice, to be

S. CHRYSOSTOM.

ARMENIAN.

And when the Choir have finished the trisagion, the Deacon, coming before the holy doors, saith,

Let us attend.

Reader. Alleluia ^a.

Deacon. Wisdom.

The Reader saith the prokimenon^b of the Apostle, [e. g. on the Festival of S. Demetrius.]

The righteous shall rejoice in the LORD.

Stichos. Hear, O God, my voice.

Deacon. Let us attend.

The Apostle is read.

And the Epistle is read; and at the end as at that of every other lection, Alleluia is sung.

And the Apostle being ended, the Priest saith,

^c Peace be to thee.

Reader. Alleluia.

^a Here, as in the Rubric at the end of the Epistle, the Greek runs thus. Καὶ ὁ Ἀναγνώστης Ἀλληλουῖα ψαλμὸς τῷ Δαυὶδ. But no psalm is here sung; and therefore the question arises, what is the reason of the insertion. Some commentators receive it as an explanation of the Alleluia: as much as to say, that this ascription of praise was of the composition of David. But this seems very harsh. Were there any trace in Greek ritualists of a psalm having been anciently followed, I should believe that after the rite was given up the rubric remained. The addition is not to be found in the Slavonic.

^b The *prokimenon*, or short anthem before the Epistle, consists of a verse and response: generally, but not always, taken from the Psalms, but hardly ever consisting of consecutive phrases. It

answers to the Roman gradual, though preceding, instead of following, the Epistle; and like that, contains an epitome of it. There is this remarkable difference between the arrangement of these verses and responses, and that of those generally in use in the Western Church. The former are rarely consecutive; the latter almost always so. According to S. Germanus, the *prokimenon* signifies the previous proclamation by the Prophets of That CHRIST of Whom the Epistle is about to tell. And the versicles are chosen with that intent, e. g. in the festival of the Expectation of the Nativity:

V. The LORD said unto Me, Thou art My Son.

R. Desire of Me, and I shall give Thee the heathen for Thine inheritance. The Mozarabic *Psalterium*, though oc-

COPTIC S. BASIL.

MOZARABIC.

offered to Thee, God the FATHER.
Amen.

The following from the Epistle
of — the Apostle.

R. Thanks be to God.

*The Deacon reads the Apostle^d
in Coptic*, and then in Arabic.*

*And when the Epistle of Paul
is read in Coptic, the Priest saith
the following prayer secretly. If
there be an assistant Priest, he
shall recite it, and not the Cele-
brant.*

The Epistle is read.

R. Amen.

currence in the same place, contains an epitome of the Prophecy; and therefore is not to be parallelised with the prokimenon. It answers precisely to the graduals after the Prophecies in the Roman Church at the Ember seasons. In the four Liturgies we are considering, this analogy may be traced: the Armenian *Psalm* precedes the Prophecy, the Mozarabic *Psalterium* follows it, but both are its epitomes: the Constantinopolitan *prokimenon* precedes, the Roman *gradual* follows, the Epistle: but both are its epitomes.

* This is technically called *εὐαγγέλιον* τὸν Ἀπόστολον.

^d So, in the Western Church, the Epistle was often called. Thus, in the fourth Council of Toledo: "In quibusdam quoque Hispaniarum Ecclesiis 'laudes' post *Apostolum* decantantur."

instead of, as in the Mozarabic office after the Gospel. Thus also the fourth canon of the Council of Rheims, A.D. 813, declares it to be the place of the Sub-Deacon to read the *Apostle*.

* Coptic being now scarcely understood, it is usual to give an Arabic version of those parts of Holy Scripture read in church. This, from the Constitutions of Cyril ben Laklak, seems to have been at first extempore; and Mark ben Kunbar (See Hist. Alex. ii. 262.) is said to have excited great admiration by the ease and fluency with which he extemporised these versions. But the plan was open to obvious inconveniences, not to say dangers; and for many years past, though the time of the change is not known, the Scriptures have been read from an authorised Arabic translation.

A. C. BERNARD.

LONDON.

COPTIC S. BASIL.

MOZARABIC.

Prayer after the Apostle.

LORD, Who art the Giver of knowledge and wisdom, Who revealest the things that are hidden in deep darkness; Who with great might hast implanted reason in men; Who didst of Thy goodness call Paul, sometime a persecutor, to be a vessel of election; and wert pleased that he should become an Apostle, a teacher and preacher of the Gospel of Thy kingdom, JESUS CHRIST our GOD: Thee, O lover of men, we now also beseech that Thou wouldest give to us and to all Thy people a mind free from all distraction, and a pure intellect, that we may learn and understand how great is the profit of the holy doctrine, which hath come to us by his ministry. And as he resembled thee, O Author of Life, in like manner make us worthy to resemble him in work and faith: that we may glorify Thy holy Name, and may glory in Thy Cross evermore; for Thou art He to Whom we ascribe honour, glory, might, and adoration, &c.

'Then one of the Deacons reads the catholicon in Coptic and Arabic: and when it has been read in Coptic, the Celebrant saith this prayer; but if the Patriarch be Celebrant, a Priest saith it.

LORD GOD, Which by Thine holy Apostles hast manifested to us the mystery of the Gospel

^f i. e. of course, a lection from one of the Catholic Epistles.

COPTIC S. BASIL.

MOZARABIC.

of the glory of Thy CHRIST, and didst give them according to the greatness of the infinite gift of Thy grace, to preach to the whole world the abundance of Thine ineffable mercy; we pray Thee, O LORD, to make us worthy of their portion and lot. Grant that we may ever walk in their footsteps, imitate their passions, and communicate with them in the labours and difficulties which they endured for Thy religion. Preserve Thy holy Church, which Thou hast founded by them; bless the lambs of Thy flock; and multiply this vineyard which Thy right hand hath planted, in CHRIST JESUS, by Whom, &c.

The Arabic lection of the Catholicon being finished, the Priest goeth to the Altar, and burneth incense once; then he saith the following prayer:

The prayer of the Acts of the Apostles.

GOD, Which didst receive the sacrifice of Abraham, and didst prepare a ram for him in the stead of Isaac, so also receive from us, O LORD, this sacrifice of incense, and in its stead send to us Thy rich mercy. Cleanse us from all foulness of sin, and make us worthy of ministering before Thy goodness, O lover of men, with purity and holiness all the days of our life. Remember, LORD, the peace, &c., as in the prayer of frankincense.

S. CHRISTOPHE.

ARMENIANS.

While the Alleluia is being sung, the Deacon goes to the Priest, and after asking for a blessing from him, censures the holy Table in a circle, and the whole sanctuary, and the Priest. And the Priest saith

The prayer before the Gospel.

O LORD and lover of men, cause the pure light of Thy Divine knowledge to shine forth in our hearts, and open the eyes of our understanding, that we may comprehend the precepts of Thy Gospel. Plant in us also the fear of Thy blessed commandments, that we, trampling upon all carnal lusts, may seek a heavenly citizenship, both saying and doing always such things as shall well please Thee. For Thou art the illumination of our souls and bodies, CHRIST our God; and to Thee we ascribe, &c.

And the Deacon drawing nigh to the Priest, and laying aside his censer, and bowing to the Priest and holding the horarion with the holy Gospel with the tips of his fingers, in the place of the holy Table whereon it lies, saith,

Sir, bless the preacher of the holy Apostle and Evangelist N.

And the Priest, signing him with the cross, saith,

* The rubrics here are not very intelligible, but are illustrated by the ex-

COPTIC S. BASIL.

MOZARABIC.

*The lesson from the Acts, in
Coptic and Arabic, being finished,
the people exclaim,
Holy, Holy, Holy.*

*The Priest saith the prayer
of the holy Gospel.*

O LORD JESUS CHRIST, our Master and our GOD, Who didst say to Thine holy Apostles and Disciples, Many Prophets and righteous men have desired to see the things which ye see, and have not seen them, and to hear the things which ye hear, and have not heard them ; but blessed are your eyes, for they see, and your ears, for they hear ; make us worthy, through the prayers of Thy Saints, of hearing and doing Thy holy Gospels.

Deacon. Pray for the holy Gospel.

Priest. Remember also, O LORD, all who have desired us to remember them in our supplications and prayers. Give rest to them, O LORD, that are already fallen asleep ; heal the sick ; for Thou art the Life of us all, the Health of all, the Hope of all, the Remedy of all, the Resurrection of us all ; and Thou art He to Whom we ascribe, &c.

*Then he saith the Psalm v, and Before the Gospel, the Deacon
at the end of the third verse saith^h,*

planations of Abusebah, in the *Scientia Ecclesiastica*. The whole ceremony

3. CHRYSOSTOM.

ANASTAS.

GOD, through the preaching of the holy and glorious Apostle and Evangelist N., give to thee who evangelizest the word with much power, to the accomplishment of the Gospel of His beloved SON OUR LORD JESUS CHRIST.

Deacon. AMEN.

And having adored with reverence the holy Gospel, he takes it up; and going through the holy doors, preceded by tapers, he stands in the ambon, or in the appointed place. And the Priest standing before the holy Table, and looking towards the west, saith, with a loud voice,

Wisdom, stand up: let us hear the holy Gospel. Peace to all.

Deacon. The lection from the holy Evangelist N.

Priest. Let us attend.

Then the Priest, turning to the people, signs them with the cross, saying,

Peace be to all.

Choir. And with thy spirit.

Deacon. Hear with awe the holy Gospel according to N. read to you.

Choir. Glory be to Thee, O LORD OUR GOD.

Deacon. Let us attend.

Choir. God speaks.

answers to the Little Entrance of the Greek ritual; though here it follows, and there it precedes, the Great Entrance. "The Priest," says Abusebah, "walks round the Altar, followed by the Deacon with the Gospel, and by some of the officiating Clerks, bearing lighted tapers." As they descend from the sanctuary, the people say, 'O let me hear Thy loving-kindness early in the morning, for in Thee is my trust.' The Deacon says secretly, 'Shew me the way, O LORD, wherein I should walk.' He then goes out through the

people, "a type," says Abusebah, "of the Gospel having gone forth into the world;" he returns to the Priest, who takes the book, places it on the Altar, and summons the other Priests to inspect it, and certify themselves that it is the Gospel. The Celebrant may read it himself, if he pleases: if not, the Deacon appointed to do so is honourably distinguished from his fellows by the title of Deacon of the Gospel. He then, according to the Ritual of Gabriel-ebn-Tarik, takes the book, and saying, 'This is the Gospel of

COPTIC S. BASIL.

censes the Gospel. He goes up to the Altar, and offers incense again, signing the boat with the sign of the cross; he descends from the Altar, takes the Gospel from the Deacon, and turns to the west. The Priests approach, and kiss it; the Celebrant kisses it last of all, and gives it to the Deacon, whom also he censes. And when the Deacon saith, Stand, the Priest turns to the east, and saith, In the Name of God, and burns incense thrice, towards the sanctuary.

Deacon. Sir, give the blessing.
The beginning of the holy Gospel according to ——. *And when the interpreter of the Gospel saith, Stand with the fear*

MOZARABIC.

Almighty and merciful God, Who didst cleanse the lips of Isaiah Thy Prophet with a hot coal, purify my heart and body and lips; and with Thy tender mercy vouchsafe to cleanse me, that I may be able to announce Thy holy Gospel. Through CHRIST our LORD. Amen.

Sir, bless.

Priest. The LORD strengthen Thy sense and Thy lips, that Thou mayest rightly announce to us His holy words.

Deacon. The lection of the holy Gospel according to S. ——. *R.* Glory be to Thee, O LORD¹.

R. Glory be to Thee, O LORD¹.

JESUS CHRIST, the SON of God,' goes down to the ambon, the Priests and other Clerks bowing as he passes. He reads it at the ambon; the interpreter pronounces it in Arabic, and the Deacon then returns to the Altar. It is curious that while the Deacon, in reading the Gospel, turns east, the Priest turns west.

¹ In the printed editions there is here inserted a prayer to be offered by the Priest, as well as that by the Deacon. But this only applies to a private Mass, when no Deacon is present.

¹ There is a dispute between Mozarabic canonists, whether the proper

response after the announcement of the Gospel is "Thanks be to God," or "Glory be to Thee, O LORD." The Mozarabic corporation at Toledo, being consulted by Arevalus on the subject, told him that the former was then the use. Nevertheless, it is a corruption of the original rite; as may be seen from the work of Etherius and Beatus against Elipandus, § 66. "Tunc silentium omnibus imperat, et dicit: *Lectio Sancti Evangelii secundum Matthæum* aut quemlibet ex tribus. Respondetur ab omni populo: *Gloria Tibi Domine.*"

S. CHRYSOSTOM.

ARMENIAN.

*The Gospel is read.**The Deacon reads the Gospel¹.**When it is finished, the Priest saith to the Deacon,**Peace be to thee that evangelizest.**And the Deacon going to the holy doors, returns the holy Gospel to the Priest ;**Choir. Glory be to Thee, O LORD our God.**We believe in GOD the FATHER Almighty, Maker of heaven and earth, and of all things visible and invisible¹ ;**And in one LORD JESUS CHRIST, the Only-Begotten SON of GOD, begotten of His FATHER before all worlds, GOD of GOD, Light of Light, Very GOD, begotten, not made, consubstantial with the FATHER, by Whom all things were made, in heaven and earth, visible and invisible ; Who for us men and for our salvation came down from heaven ; was incarnate, and perfectly begotten by the HOLY GHOST of the Virgin Mary : that He assumed flesh, soul, and mind, and all things that are in man, truly and not figuratively ; that He suffered, was crucified, and buried ; and the third day He rose again, and ascended into heaven with the same Body and sitteth on the right hand of the FATHER ; and that He shall come with the same Body, and in the glory of His FATHER, to judge the quick*

¹ The position of the Clerks is this. The Priest is at the middle of the Altar, his cap on, and his back to the people : two Deacons are at the north and south sides of the bema respectively ; the

principal Deacon, standing towards the north side, at the top of the steps, chants the Gospel, facing west : immediately in front of him, and facing him, is another Deacon with a censer, who stands

COPTIC S. BASIL.

of God, the Priest turns to the west, and censes the Gospel three times. Then turning to the sanctuary, he censes that also thrice, and the Priests once; then he stands in his place, and recites something from the prayer of the Gospel. And when the Gospel is said in Arabic, he recites the following prayer; or the assistant Priest, if there be one, recites it.

MOZARABIC.

The Gospel is read.

R. Amen.

When the Priest kisseth the book, he says, Hail, Divine Word, reformation of virtue, restitution of health.

The LORD be with you.

R. And with thy spirit.

between two Subdeacons, each holding a taper; the other Subdeacons, as before, stand behind.

¹ The retention of the anathema, as well as of the Creed of Nicæa, is worthy of remark. The Constantinopolitan ad-

ditions are for the most part retained; though the Creed agrees neither exactly with that, nor with any other version. This Creed (excepting, of course, that they add the *Filioque*) is used by the Uniat Armenians.

E. CHORUS.

ARMENIAN.

and the dead: Whose Kingdom
shall have no end.

We believe in the Holy Ghost,
not created, most perfect. Who
spoke in the Law, the Prophets,
and the Gospels. Who descended
upon Jordan. Who preached
Him That was sent. Who dwelleth
in the Saints. We believe one Holy
Catholic and Apostolic Church;
one Baptism to repentance, for
the remission of sins: the resur-
rection of the dead: the eternal
judgment both of soul and bodies:
the kingdom of heaven, and the
life everlasting.

And for them that say, There
was a time when the Sox of
God was not: or, in like manner,
There was a time when the Holy
Ghost was not: or that They
were made out of nothing; or
that the Sox of God and the
Holy Ghost are of another sub-
stance: the Orthodox and Apo-
stolic Church saith, Let them be
anathema.

*And standing in the accustomed
place, begins thus:*

Let us all say with our whole
heart and soul,

Choir. Lord, have mercy.
Thrice.

Lord Almighty, God of our
fathers, we pray Thee, hear, and
have mercy upon us.

Have mercy upon us, O God,
after Thy great goodness: we
pray Thee, hear, and have mercy.

*The Deacon causes the Priest
to kiss the Gospels, and saith,*

Sir, give the blessing.

*The Priest saith the prayer of
S. Gregory, the Illuminator of
Armenia.*

And we also glorify Him Who
was before all worlds; we wor-
ship the Holy TRINITY, and One
Godhead, FATHER, SON, and
HOLY GHOST, now and for ever,
and to all ages. Amen.

COPTIC S. BASIL.

MOZARABIC.

Prayer after the Gospel.

Thou That art long-suffering, of great mercy and truth, receive our prayers, deprecations, and supplications, and our penitence and confession upon Thy holy, pure, and heavenly Altar, that we may become worthy hearers of Thy holy Gospels, and may observe Thy precepts and commandments : and in them bring

S. CHRYSOSTOM.

Prayer of the ectene.

LORD our God, we pray Thee to receive this intense supplication from Thy servants, according to the multitude of Thy mercy, and send down Thy compassions upon us, and upon all Thy people, which is expecting from Thee Thy rich mercy.

Deacon. Further we pray for pious and Orthodox Christians.

People. LORD, have mercy. *And so at the end of every petition.*

Further we pray for our Archbishop N.

Further we pray for our brethren, Priests, Monks, and all our brotherhood in CHRIST.

Further we pray for the blessed and ever memorable founders of this holy abode, and for all our fathers and brethren that have fallen asleep before us, and lie here, and the Orthodox everywhere.

Further we pray for mercy, life, peace, health, safety, protection, forgiveness, and remission of sins of the servants of God, the brethren of this holy habitation.

Further we pray for them that bring forth fruit and do good deeds in this holy and all-venerable temple, that labour, that sing, and for the people that stand around, and are expecting

" Here three petitions are inserted, according to the season of the year. During the rise of the Nile: " Remem-

ARMENIAN.

Deacon. Again and again in peace let us make our supplications to the LORD.

Choir. LORD, have mercy.

Deacon. Again let us pray with faith, and beseech the LORD GOD and our SAVIOUR JESUS CHRIST at this hour of sacrifice and prayer, that He would be pleased to accept and listen to the voice of our requests, and that the petitions of our hearts may be pleasing in His sight; that He would pardon our sins, and have mercy upon us. Let these our prayers and supplications ever ascend to His Divine Majesty, that He may grant to us to labour in righteousness, in the unity of faith, in good works; and let our Almighty LORD pour out upon us the grace of His mercy, and save us, and have mercy upon us.

Choir. Save us, O LORD.

Deacon. Let us pray unto the LORD, that we may pass this hour of holy sacrifice, and this day, in peace.

Choir. Grant this, O LORD.

Deacon. Let us pray unto the LORD for Angels of peace, and guardians of our souls.

Choir. Grant &c.

Deacon. Let us pray unto the LORD for the pardon and remission of our sins.

Choir. Grant &c.

Deacon. Let us pray unto the

ber, LORD, the waters of the river, and bless them: increasing them according to their measure." From the Epiphany

COPTIC S. BASIL.

MOZARABIC.

forth fruit an hundred-fold, sixty-fold, and thirty-fold, in CHRIST JESUS our LORD. Remember, O LORD, the infirm among Thy people: look upon them with pity and mercy, and heal them. Remember, LORD, our fathers and brethren that are absent from their home, and bring them back again in safety and peace^m. Remember, LORD, the safety of this Thy holy place, and of all places and monasteries, and our holy Orthodox fathers. Remember, LORD, the safety of men and animals. Remember, LORD, Thy servant the King of thisland, and preserve him in peace and dignity. Remember, LORD, our fathers and brethren, who have fallen asleep and rested in the Orthodox Faith. Remember, LORD, our sacrifices and oblations, and them that have offered them, and receive their offerings. Remember, LORD, captives that have been carried into slavery, and bring back their captivity. Remember, LORD, them that are oppressed by calamities and straits. Remember, LORD, the Catechumens of Thy people; have mercy on them; confirm them in Thy faith; remove all remains of the worship of idols from their hearts; plant

to the first of Paophi; "Remember, LORD, the temperature of the sky, and the fruits of the earth, and bless them." From the first of Paophi to the first of

Baini; "Remember, LORD, seeds and plants, that they may increase and be multiplied."

S. CHRYSOSTOM.

from Thee Thy great and rich mercy.

Exclamation. For Thou art the merciful God and the lover of men, and to Thee we ascribe, &c.

Deacon. Catechumens, pray unto the LORD. Let us, the faithful, pray for the Catechumens, that the LORD may have mercy upon them, and may teach them the word of truth.

People. LORD, have mercy. *And so at the end of each petition.*

That He may reveal to them the Gospel of righteousness.

That He may unite them to His Holy Catholic and Apostolic Church.

Preserve, have mercy, support, and guard them, O God.

Catechumens, bow your heads to the LORD.

Prayer of the Catechumens before the holy Oblation.

LORD our God, Who dwellest on high, and beholdest the humble, Who didst send forth the Salvation of the race of man, Thine Only-Begotten Son, our God and LORD JESUS CHRIST, look down upon Thy servants the Catechumens, who have bowed their necks unto Thee; and make them worthy, in due season, of the laver of regeneration, of the forgiveness of sins, of the robe of immortality; unite them to Thy

ARMENIAN.

LORD to grant the great and victorious powers of His most holy Cross to our aid.

Choir. Grant &c.

Deacon. Let us again pray unto the LORD for the unity of our true and holy faith.

Choir. LORD, have mercy.

Deacon. We will devote ourselves and each other to the Almighty LORD our God.

Choir. We will devote ourselves to Thee, O LORD.

Deacon. Let us all say, with one accord, Have mercy upon us, O God, after Thy great goodness.

Choir. LORD, have mercy. *Thrice.*

While this ectene is chanting, the Priest saith secretly,

O LORD JESUS CHRIST, our SAVIOUR, Who art rich in mercy, and plenteous in the bestowal of Thy benefits, Thou Who of Thine own free will didst, at this very hour, endure the sufferings and death of the cross for our sins, and didst richly bestow Thy grace upon the blessed Apostles; O LORD, we pray Thee, make us also partakers of Thy heavenly gifts, for the remission of our sins, and the receiving Thy HOLY SPIRIT.

Exclamation. That we may be worthy to glorify Thee with thanksgiving, with the FATHER and the HOLY GHOST, now and ever, and to all ages. Amen.

COPTIC S. BASIL.

MOZARABIC.

in their hearts Thy law, Thy precepts, Thy fear, Thy truths, and Thy commandments; give them a firm knowledge of the word in which they have been instituted by teaching; and grant that in due time they may be worthy of the laver of regeneration for the remission of their sins; prepare them as an habitation of the HOLY GHOST through grace.

S. CHRYSOSTOM.

Holy Catholic and Apostolic Church, and number them together with Thy elect flock.
Aloud. That they also, together with us, may glorify Thy honourable and majestic Name, FATHER, SON, and HOLY GHOST, now and ever, and to ages of ages.

Choir. Amen.

ARMENIAN.

Deacon. Sir, give the blessing.

Priest. Peace be with all.

Choir. And with thy spirit.

Deacon. Let us pray unto the LORD.

Choir. Unto Thee, O LORD.

Priest. CHRIST OUR SAVIOUR, confirm us, and preserve us from the fear of all evil, by Thy peace which passeth all understanding and speech; and grant to us together with Thy true worshippers to worship Thee in spirit and in truth; for to Thy^a most holy TRINITY belong glory, dominion, and honour, now and for ever, and world without end.

Blessed be our Lord JESUS CHRIST.

Choir. Amen.

Deacon. Sir, give the blessing.

Priest. The LORD our God bless you all.

The Priest unfolds the corporal.

^a This expression, in an Armenian Liturgy, savours very much of heresy.

COPTIC S. BASIL.

MOZARABIC.

*The Choir sing the Lauda, or
Laudes, varying with the day ; e.g.
on the fifth Sunday of Advent.*

Alleluia. O come let us sing
unto the LORD, let us heartily
rejoice in the strength of our
salvation. Alleluia.

Priest. Thanks be to God.

S. CNEYSTON.

ARMENIAN.

EXPULSION OF THE CATECHUMENS.

Deacon. Let all the Catechumens depart*; Catechumens, depart; let all the Catechumens depart; let not any of the Catechumens—; let all the faithful;—

Deacon. Let none of the Catechumens, let none who has little faith, let none of the penitents who is not yet purified, approach this Divine mystery.

Again and again in peace let us make our supplications to the LORD. And he saith the short ectene: while the Priest saith secretly

The first prayer of the Faithful, after the unfolding of the corporal.

We yield Thee thanks, LORD God of Sabaoth, Who hast thought us worthy to stand even now at Thine Altar, and to fall down before Thy mercies, for our sins and the ignorances of Thy people: receive, O God, our supplications; make us worthy to offer to Thee

* Literally, *pass forward*, (*ὑποάβητε*) but quite used in the sense of *depart*; and so translated in the Slavonic.

† The whole theory of the Liturgy induces me to place the expulsion of the Catechumens here, though in the MSS. there is no mention of it at all. Renaudot is disposed to put it after the kiss of peace; because he conceives that an expression in the Coptic Liturgy of our LORD JESUS CHRIST, which occupies that place, refers to the ancient rite of expulsion. "If any one hath devised hypocrisy in his heart, let him confess it: he that hath fallen into sin, let him not forget it, lest he be forgotten. He that labours under any crime, let

him not approach: he that is polluted or impure, let him depart." But this solitary argument drawn from a late and comparatively worthless Liturgy, cannot surely counterbalance the general analogy of an office of great antiquity and value.

‡ I have, in another place, considered the Landa and Sacrificium as forming one hymn, and answering to the cherubic hymn. So far as the later Mozarabic was concerned, I could not have done otherwise. But here, where I am exhibiting the Gotho-Hispanic office as consentient as it can be made with the Eastern rites, I have felt justified in inserting between the Lauda and the

COPTIC S. BASIL.

MOZARABIC.

EXPULSION OF THE CATECHUMENS.

[EXPULSION OF THE CATECHUMENS P.]

¶ Penitents, pray; bend your knees to God. Let us beseech the Lord that He would vouchsafe to give us remission of sins and peace.

V. Rise in the Name of CHRIST; having finished your prayers, say with one voice, Amen.

R. Amen. Stand in your places for Mass.

The Priest saith secretly the prayer of the veil¹.

God, Who through Thine ineffable love to man didst send Thine Only-Begotten SON into the world, that He might bring back to Thee the sheep that had gone astray, we pray Thee, cast us not away from Thee for ever, while we offer to Thee this tre-

Sacrificium that expulsion of the Catechumens which is still preserved in the Wednesday of the first week in Lent, and was undoubtedly once general to all the Spanish offices.

¹ Renaudot's explanation here is a tissue of blunders, probably unique in his writings. He says that the prayer of the veil answers to the first prayer of the Faithful in the Constantinopolitan Liturgies (as in truth it does) because in both the Priest raises the veil with which the disk and chalice have previously been covered. But the *Ελάνθον*,—the veil of S. Chrysostom,—is simply the

corporal, the originally linen, but now silken covering, spread over the Altar, on which the Body of our Lord is consecrated. It *could not*, in the Greek office, mean the chalice veil, because the chalice and disk are not yet on the Altar, but on the prothesis. In the Coptic office the meaning of the prayer of the veil may be such as Renaudot gives: the chalice being on the Altar, since, as we have seen, the Great Entrance has long before taken place. GOAR, p. 130. note 103, and KING, p. 162. note 1, explain S. Chrysostom's Liturgy correctly.

S. CHRYSOSTOM.

ARMENIAN.

supplications and prayers, and unbloody sacrifices for all Thy people; and strengthen us, whom Thou hast placed in this Thy ministry, with the strength of the HOLY GHOST, that we may without offence, and without scandal, in a pure testimony of our conscience, call upon Thee in every time and place; that hearing us Thou mayest be merciful to us in the multitude of Thy goodness.

Deacon. Assist, preserve, pity, &c.

Wisdom.

Priest. Exclamation. For to Thee belongeth all glory, honour, and worship, FATHER, SON, and HOLY GHOST, now and ever, and to ages of ages.

Deacon. Again and again in peace let us make our supplications to the LORD.

And he saith the short ectene: while the Priest saith secretly

The second prayer of the Faithful.

Again and oftentimes we fall down before Thee, and beseech Thee, O good GOD and lover of men, that Thou wouldest look upon our prayers, purify our souls and bodies from all pollution of

Choir. The Holy Body* of our LORD and the Blood of our SAVIOUR are before us. The heavenly powers, invisible to us, sing and say, Holy, Holy, Holy, LORD of Hosts.

* This is a most strange anomaly. Not only has not consecration yet taken place, but the Great Entrance is not

made. M. Mouravieff imagines that this is copied from the similar portion in the Byzantine Liturgy of the Pre-

COPTIC S. BASIL.

mendous and unbloody sacrifice ;
 for we trust not in our righteousness,
 but in Thy mercy, by which
 Thou hast quickened our race.
 We pray and beseech Thy goodness,
 O Lover of men, that this
 mystery may not be to condemnation
 to us or to Thy people, which
 Thou hast instituted for our salvation ;
 but that it may be for the cleansing
 of our sins, and the remission of
 our negligences. Glory and honour
 to Thy Name, FATHER, SON, and
 HOLY GHOST, now and ever, and
 to ages of ages. Amen.

*When this prayer is finished,
 the Priest kisses the steps of the
 Altar, ascends into the sanctuary,
 kisses the Altar, and saith,*

Peace be to all.

*Then he signs the people with
 the cross. Then he saith the three
 great prayers.*

MOZARABIC.

sanctified, the copyist forgetting that
 in the last named case, consecration
 has already taken place. The Armeno-
 Roman rite alters the expression, " The

Body and Blood of our LORD are about
 to be present : " *sono già presso a ren-
 dersi qui presenti,* " is the authorised
 Italian version.

S. CHRYSOSTOM.

flesh and spirit, and grant that our standing before Thy holy Altar may be irreprehensible and unblameable. Grant, O LORD, to them who pray together with us, advance in [holy] life, wisdom, and spiritual understanding: grant them at all times with fear and love to serve Thee irreprehensibly; and without condemnation to partake of Thy holy mysteries, and to be thought worthy of Thy heavenly kingdom.

Deacon. Assist, preserve, &c.
Wisdom.

Priest. Exclamation. That, being ever guarded by Thy might, we may ascribe glory to Thee, FATHER, SON, and HOLY GHOST, now and ever, and to ages of ages.

Choir. Amen.

The Choir sing the Cherubic Hymn.

Let us, who mystically represent the Cherubim, and sing the holy hymn to the quickening TRINITY, lay by at this time all worldly cares; that we may receive the King of Glory, invisibly attended by the angelic orders. Alleluia, Alleluia, Alleluia. •

¹ But only on very high occasions. There are about eight proper hymns substituted for it: and in the Armeno-Roman rite it does not occur at all.

² Before this, according to the ancient rite, which was partially retained in the last century, the Priest made the offertory on this fashion.

ARMENIAN.

Deacon. Sing psalms to the LORD our God with a sweet voice: and sing spiritual hymns.

The Choir sing the Cherubic¹ Hymn. Let us, &c.

As each one offereth, he saith,
Receive thou an hundred-fold;
and possess life eternal in the kingdom of God. Amen.

The benediction of the bread.
V. Our help is in the Name of the LORD.

COPTIC S. BASIL.

MOZABABIC.

*The Choir sings the Sacrificium,
which varies with the day, e. g. on
Whit-Sunday^a.*

To-day is Pentecost fulfilled,
in which the HOLY GHOST de-
scended, and appeared and was
shed over the Apostles, while

R. Who hath made heaven and
earth.

V. Blessed be the Name of the LORD.

R. From this time forth for ever-
more.

Bl+ess, O LORD, this creature of
bread, as Thou didst bless the five

loaves in the wilderness: that all they
who taste thereof may receive health as
well of mind as of body.

The blessing + of GOD the FATHER
Almighty, and of the SON, and of the
HOLY GHOST, descend on this bread
and on all that eat thereof.

S. CHERUBIM.

Prayer which the Priest smith secretly, while the Cherubic Hymn is being sung.*

None is worthy among them that are bound with fleshly desires and pleasures to approach Thee, nor to draw near, nor to sacrifice unto Thee, King of Glory; for to minister to Thee is great and fearful, even to the heavenly powers themselves. Yet through Thine ineffable and measureless love, Thou didst unchangeably and immutably become[†] man, and didst take the title of our High-Priest, and didst give to us the Hierarchy of this liturgic and unbloody Sacrifice, as being Lord of all: for Thou only, O Lord our God, rulest over things in heaven and things on earth, Who sittest upon the cherubic throne, Lord of Seraphim, and King of Israel, only holy, and resting in the holies. On Thee I importunately call[‡], That art only good and ready to hear, look upon me a sinner, and Thine unworthy servant, and cleanse my soul and heart from an evil conscience; and strengthen, with the might of Thy HOLY GHOST, me that have been endued with the grace of Priesthood, that I may stand by

ARMENIAN.

While the Priest prostrating himself before the Altar, smith the following prayer secretly,

None is worthy, &c., as in the *Liturgy of S. Chrysostom.*

* As the cherubic hymn was only composed in the time of Justinian, it is clear that the prayer of that hymn must be an insertion. And, accordingly, it is not to be found in the very

ancient Barberini MS. of this Liturgy, to which Goar so often refers.

† *Ἐχρηματίσας*. King, less correctly, "becamest." But in the new Greek, *χρηματίσας* means to assume a name:

COPTIC S. BASIL.

MOZARABIC.

they spake in different tongues
the marvellous works of the
LORD.

V. There came a sound from
heaven, as of a rushing mighty
wind, and it filled all the house
where the Apostles were sitting,
and they spake the marvellous
works of the LORD. Alleluia.

*The Priest takes water in his
hands : and saith in silence over
the Oblation, extending three fin-
gers,*

In the name of the FATHER,
of the SON, and of the HOLY
GHOST. Amen.

so Polybius, more than once, *εχρημά-
τιζε βασιλεῖς.*

¹ King, "I call upon Thee :"
Goar, "Te deprecor." But *δυσωπῶ* is
more than this ; it is "to put a man

out of countenance," and so "to be
importunate : " and is frequently thus
used by Plutarch, though not by more
classical authors.

S. CHRYSOSTOM.

ARMENIAN.

this Thy holy Altar, and sacrifice Thy holy and spotless Body, and precious Blood. For Thee I approach bowing my neck, and pray of Thee, Turn not Thy face away from me, nor reject me from the number of Thy sons; but condescend that these gifts may be offered to Thee by me, a sinner and Thine unworthy servant. For Thou art He That offerest*, and art offered, and receivest and art distributed, CHRIST our God; and to Thee we ascribe, &c.

When this prayer is finished, they also say the Cherubic Hymn. Then the Deacon, taking the censer, and putting incense on it, goes to the Priest: and after receiving a blessing from him, censures the holy Table in a circle, and all the sanctuary, and the Priest: and he saith the 51st Psalm, and other penitential troparia, such as he will, with the Priest. And they go to the prothesis, the Deacon preceding. And the Deacon, having censured the holy things, and said to himself,

* *That offerest and art offered, and receivest and art distributed.* One should have thought that no great difficulty could be found or made in these words. *That offerest*,—"for this He did once, when He offered up Himself,"—*and art offered*, in the Oblation of the Mystic Sacrifice,—*That receivest* that Sacrifice, *and art received* by them that present it. However, about the year 1155 a great dispute rose on the question. A Deacon of Constantinople taught that this could not be the mean-

ing of the passage, because the sacrifice was not offered to CHRIST, but to the FATHER and the HOLY GHOST alone. A Council met at Constantinople, Jan. 26, 1156, under the Patriarch, Luke Chrysoberges, to decide the question: and Soterichus Panteugenus, Patriarch Elect of Antioch, who had taught the new dogma, was declared unworthy of the office. We know not that it has ever been noticed that this was the end of the controversy that, for more than seven hundred

COPTIC S. BASIL.

MOZARABIC.

years, had vexed the Church on the subject of the Incarnation, the two opposing heresies being alternately beaten down. Briefly; the Œcumenical Council of Ephesus, A.D. 431, asserted, in opposition to the Nestorians, One Person in our Lord; the Œcumenical Council of Ephesus, A.D. 451, vindicated, in opposition to the Eutychians, His Two Natures; the Œcumenical Council of Constantinople, the second, A.D. 553, condemned, in opposition to the Nesto-

rians, the three famous chapters; the Œcumenical Council of Constantinople, the third, A.D. 680, pronounced, in opposition to the Eutychians, that our Lord had Two Wills; the Great National Council of Frankfort, A.D. 794, condemned, in opposition to the Nestorians, the heresy of the Adoptionists; and finally, the Provincial Council of Constantinople, A.D. 1156, condemned, in opposition to the Eutychians, the error of Soterichus Panteugenus.

S. CHRYSOSTOM.

God be merciful to me a sinner, saith to the Priest,

Sir, lift up.

And the Priest raising the air, puts it on the left shoulder of the Deacon, saying,

Lift up your hands in the sanctuary, and bless the LORD.

Then, taking the holy disk, he puts it with all care and reverence on the Deacon's head, the Deacon also holding the censer with one of his fingers. And the Priest himself taking the holy chalice in his hands, they go through the north part, preceded by tapers, and make

ARMENIAN.

The Deacons^b then carry the holy Bread and the Wine of Immortality to the Priest, thus making

THE GREAT ENTRANCE,

both praying for all, and saying, The LORD GOD remember us all in His kingdom, always, now and ever, and to ages of ages.

And the Deacon, going within the holy doors, stands on the right hand. And when the Priest is about to enter in, he saith to him,

The LORD GOD remember thy Priesthood in His kingdom.

Priest. The LORD GOD remember thy Diaconate in His kingdom, always, now and ever, and to ages of ages.

THE GREAT ENTRANCE^c,

does not resume it. Up to this period the Bishop, but he only, blesses the people with the cross; afterwards with his hand.

^a The rubrics, as at present existing in the Mozarabic Missal, give three contradictory directions as to the place of the Sacrificium and the Oblation.

^b The principal difference between the Armenian and Greek rite here is, that the Celebrant does not leave the Altar. The procession, however, is imposing, the standards, lamps, and fans preceding the Deacon.

^c The Bishop now lays aside his mitre, and the Priest his cap; and

COPTIC S. BASIL.

MOZARABIC.

^d *In the meantime, while the Sacrificium is chanted, the Priest offers the host and the chalice.*

Let this Oblation be acceptable to Thy Majesty, Almighty and Eternal God, which we offer to Thee for our guilt and sins : and for the stability of the Holy Catholic Church, and for them that hold the Apostolic faith : through CHRIST our LORD. Amen.

And he places the paten on the corporal. In the Name of the FATHER, and of the SON, and of the HOLY GHOST. Amen.

The first is that, after saluting the people, *tunc offerat Sacerdos Hostiam* : and then follow the *Lauda* and the *Sacrificium*. The second is, *Interim dum cantat chorus Alleluia*, (i. e. the *Lauda*,) *offerat Sacerdos Hostiam cum Calice*. The third is, *dum cantatur Sacrificium, offerat*

Hostiam et Calicem. This, though not the Mozarabic use, was the old Gotho-Hispanic rite : and I have followed it here, (1) as being the oldest ; (2) as giving its name to the *Sacrificium* ; (3) as best agreeing with the Greek rite.

S. CHRYSOSTOM.

ARMENIAN.

And the Priest sets down the chalice on the holy Table, and taking the holy disk from the head of the Deacon, he places it there also, saying,

Honourable Joseph took Thy spotless Body from the cross, and wrapped it in clean linen with spices, and with funeral rites placed it in a new tomb.

In the grave bodily, in Hades spiritually, as God, with the thief in paradise as in a throne, wert Thou, O CHRIST, with the FATHER and the HOLY GHOST, Who art incircumscribed and fillest all things.

How life-giving, how more beautiful than paradise, and verily more splendid than any royal chamber, is Thy tomb, O CHRIST, the fountain of our resurrection.

Then, taking the coverings from the holy disk and the holy chalice, he places them on one part of the holy Table; and taking the air from the Deacon's shoulder, and censuring it, he covers with it the holy things, saying,

Honourable Joseph, &c., down to in a new tomb.

And taking the censer from the Deacon's hands, he censeth the holy things thrice, saying,

Then shall they offer young bullocks upon Thine Altar.

• These Orthodox Kings are the Princes of Ethiopia and Nubia. The Copto-Jacobites have always boasted

themselves above their Syrian brethren in the fact of possessing two Christian Kings in the Diocese of Alexandria.

COPTIC S. BASIL.

MOZARABIC.

Then he takes the chalice, and blesseth it thus: In the Name of the FATHER, and of the SON, and of the HOLY GHOST. Amen. We offer to Thee, O LORD, this chalice, for the consecration of the Blood of Christ Thy SON: and we beseech Thy clemency that it may ascend as a sweet smelling savour before the face of Thy Divine Majesty; through the same CHRIST our LORD. Amen.

He places the chalice on the Altar, and takes the filiola¹, and, without blessing it, puts it on the chalice, and saith thus: We beseech Thee, O LORD, receive this Oblation and be reconciled to us, and forgive the sins of all who offer, and of all for whom it is offered, through CHRIST our LORD. Amen.

Prayer for peace.

Again let us beseech Almighty God the FATHER of our LORD GOD and Saviour JESUS CHRIST. We pray and beseech Thy goodness, O Lover of men, remember the peace of Thy One, Only, Holy, Catholic and Apostolic Church, which is spread from one end of the earth to the other end of the same. Bless every people and land. Send that Thy heavenly peace into our hearts; and also of Thy goodness, give us the peace of this life; beautify with peace Orthodox Kings², our army,

So also the Nestorians had *their* Orthodox Princes till the overwhelming desolation of Christianity, brought to

pass in central Asia by Hulaku Khan.

¹ i. e. the chalice veil: in Spanish, *hijuela*.

S. CHRYSOSTOM.

ARMENIAN.

And putting down the censer, and letting fall his phelonion, and bowing his head, he saith to the Deacon,

Remember me, brother and fellow-minister.

Deacon. The LORD GOD remember Thy Priesthood in His kingdom.

Then the Deacon also himself slightly bowing his head, and holding his horarion with the three fingers of his right hand, saith to the Priest,

Holy Sir, pray for me.

Priest. The HOLY GHOST shall come upon Thee, and the power of the Highest shall overshadow Thee.

Deacon. The same SPIRIT shall be fellow-minister with us, all the days of our life.

And again, Holy Sir, remember me.

Priest. The LORD GOD remember thee in His kingdom, always, now and ever, and to ages of ages.

Deacon. Amen.

And having kissed the Priest's hand, he goes out, and standing in the customary place, saith,

Let us accomplish our supplications to the LORD.

Choir. Kyrie eleison. *And so at the end of each suffrage.*

Deacon. For the precious gifts that have been proposed, let us make our supplications to the LORD.

For this holy house, and them

Deacon. Again and again in peace, &c.

Choir. Kyrie eleison.

Deacon. Again let us stand before this holy Table of God in faith and holiness: let us pray, not with fraud and scandal, not with deceit and malice, not with doubting and little faith: but

COPTIC S. BASIL.

MOZARABIC.

leaders, counsellors, people, and neighbours : our going out and our coming in. O King of peace, give us peace, Who hast given us all things. Possess us, God our SAVIOUR, for we know none other but Thee : and we call on Thy holy Name. Let our souls live by Thy HOLY GHOST, and let not the death of sin reign over us, nor over all Thy people. LORD have mercy.

Again we pray Thee, LORD Omnipotent, FATHER of our God and LORD and SAVIOUR JESUS CHRIST. We pray and beseech Thy goodness, O Lover of men. Remember, LORD, our blessed Father, and venerable Archbishop Pope N., and his venerable consort in the apostolic ministry,

S. CHERYBOSTOM.

ARMENIAN.

that with faith, reverence, and the fear of God, enter into it, let.

That we may be delivered from all afflictions, passion, danger, and necessity, let.

Assist, preserve, &c.

That the whole day may be perfect, holy, peaceful, without sin, let us ask from the LORD.

Choir. Grant, O LORD. *And so at the end of every suffrage.*

Deacon. The Angel of peace, faithful guide, guardian of our souls and bodies, let.

Pardon and remission of our sins and our transgressions, let.

Things that are good and profitable for our souls, and peace to the world, let.

That we may accomplish the remainder of our lives in peace and penitence, let.

Christian ends of our lives, without torment, without shame, peaceful and a good defence at the fearful tribunal, let us ask from CHRIST.

Commemorating the all-holy, &c.

with good works, with a pure mind, with a clean heart, with a perfect faith, to the fulfilment of charity, and the increase of every good work. Let us stand up in prayer before this holy Altar of God, and we shall find the grace of mercy, at the day of the revelation of all things, at the second coming of our LORD JESUS CHRIST, Who shall save us, and have mercy upon us.

Choir. Save us, O LORD, and have mercy upon us.

Deacon. Sir, bless.

As this ectene^s is being said, the Priest saith secretly

^s It is not worth while to notice the verbal differences of this ectene. In no

COPTIC S. BASIL.

MOZARABIC.

our Father the Bishop N.; guard and preserve them to us through many years and tranquil times, that they may in their deeds accomplish and fulfil the sanctity of the Episcopate, which hath been entrusted by Thee to them, according to Thy holy and blessed will; may rightly divide the word of truth, and may govern Thy people with holiness and righteousness, together with other Orthodox Bishops, Hegumens, Presbyters, and Deacons, and the rest of the fulness of Thy One Only, Holy, Catholic, and Apostolic Church. Give to us also peace and safety in every place, and receive all the prayers which they offer for us and for all Thy people, as also ours for them,—*he burns incense*,—on Thy holy, spiritual, heavenly, Altar, together with the sweet savour of incense. Bruise and tread shortly under their feet all their enemies, visible and invisible; and keep them in peace and righteousness in Thy holy Church. LORD, have mercy.

Again we pray Thee, LORD Omnipotent, FATHER of our LORD GOD and SAVIOUR JESUS CHRIST, we pray and beseech Thy goodness, O Lover of men, remember, LORD, our congregations and bless them. Grant that we may celebrate them without disturb-

part of the Liturgy do MSS. and editions are quite non-essential. editions so much vary. But the varia-

S. CHRYSOSTOM.

ARMENIAN.

The prayer of Oblation, after the Divine Gifts are placed on the holy Table.

LORD GOD ALMIGHTY, Only Holy, Who receivest the sacrifice of praise from them that call upon Thee with their whole heart, receive also the supplication of us sinners, and cause it to approach to Thy holy Altar, and enable us to present gifts to Thee, and spiritual sacrifices for our sins, and for the errors of the people : and cause us to find grace in Thy sight, that this our sacrifice may be acceptable unto Thee, and that the good SPIRIT of Thy grace may tabernacle upon us, and upon these gifts presented unto Thee, and upon all Thy people.

Priest. Exclamation. Through the mercies of Thine Only-Begotten Son, with Whom Thou art to be blessed, and with the all-holy, and good, and quickening SPIRIT, now and ever, and to ages of ages.

Peace to all.

Then the Priest, lifting up his hands, saith secretly this prayer of S. Athanasius, Patriarch of Alexandria.

O LORD GOD, Creator of all things, Who hast brought everything from non-existence into being, Who hast caused our dull nature to become the minister of this so awful and unspeakable mystery, do Thou, O LORD, to Whom we bring this sacrifice, accept this offering from us, and make it the mystery of the Body and Blood of Thine Only-Begotten Son, and grant unto us, who partake of them, that this Bread and Wine may be for the healing and pardoning of our sins.

Exclamation. Through the grace and love of our LORD and Saviour JESUS CHRIST, to Whom &c.

Peace to all.

People. Amen. And with thy spirit.

COPTIC S. BASIL.

MOZARABIC.

ance or hindrance, in houses of prayer, houses of benediction, houses of holiness; grant to us, LORD, to be in them, and to Thy servants who shall stand up after us for ever.

He joins his hands, and bows.

In the spirit of humility and with a contrite heart may we be received, O LORD, by Thee; and let our sacrifice be so offered, that we may be accepted by Thee to-day, and may please Thee, LORD GOD. Come, HOLY GHOST, the Sanctifier, sanctify this Sacrifice prepared for Thee in my hands. *Then he puts incense in the censer: and censens the Sacrifice, if he so will. Then he bows before the middle of the Altar, joins his hands, and saith aloud,* Assist me, brethren, in your prayers, and pray for me to GOD.

R. The FATHER, the SON, and the HOLY GHOST assist Thee.

He bows before the middle of the Altar, and saith secretly,

I will approach to Thee in the humility of my spirit, I will speak to Thee, because Thou hast given me much hope and courage. Thou therefore, Son of David, Who revealed in mystery didst come to us in flesh, open the secrets of my heart with the key of Thy Cross, sending one of the Seraphim, who with that burning coal taken from the Altar may

S. CHRYSOSTOM.

ARMENIAN.

COPTIC S. BASIL.

MOZARABIC.

cleanse my vile lips, clear my mind, give me the matter of teaching; that my tongue, which serves by charity to the utility of my neighbour, may not inculcate error but evermore preach the message of truth, through Thee, my GOD, Who livest and reignest for ever and ever. Amen.

Priest. The LORD be ever with you.

R. And with thy spirit.

Then follows the Missa, or Oratio Missæ; i. e. the collect for the day: e. g. on the Friday after Easter.

Passing the stormy sea of this troublesome world, beloved brethren, let us embark with faith on the wood of the Cross, and spread the sails of faith to the favourable gales of the HOLY GHOST. Our LORD, standing on the shore, figured the glorious and unspotted Church, when He filled the net, that brake not, with great fishes. Nor did He suffer the ship to deviate from the right side, Who then prefigured the judgment of the good alone. Let us follow the verity of this admirable Sacrament, loving above all things and maintaining unity. Let us not turn aside to evil schisms, or break the net of the LORD before we be presented on the shore. That being numbered with the mystical fishes, we may merit to be the food of the LORD, Who vouchsafed to raise us from the deep, and being entirely made

COPTIC S. BASIL.

MOZARABIC.

His members, may be expiated
with salutary sacrifices.

R. Amen.

Priest. Through Thy mercy,
our God, Who art blessed and
livest and governest all things
to ages of ages.

R. Amen.

Priest, raising his hands,

Let us pray.

Holy, Holy, Holy, LORD GOD
Eternal; praise and thanks to
Thee.

Priest. Let us bear the Holy
Catholic Church in our mind in
our prayers, that the merciful
LORD would condescend to in-
crease its faith, hope, and charity.
Let us bear in our mind all them
that are fallen, that are captives,
that are sick, that are strangers;
that the merciful LORD would
vouchsafe to look upon, to redeem,
to heal, and to comfort them.

Choir. Grant it, eternal Al-
mighty God.

*The Priest saith a prayer vary-
ing with the day, generally called
Alia Oratio: e. g. on the eighth
Sunday after Epiphany.*

God, Who by the virtue of
Thy Son, and by distributing
the gifts of the HOLY GHOST,
hast overcome the perfidy of the
ancient spoiler, and hast given
us victory from captivity: grant,
we pray Thee, that they which
seek to attack us may be re-
strained by the right hand of
Thy power. Amen.

Priest. Through Thy mercy,

S. CHRYSOSTOM.

ARMENIAN.

^a The names in these diptychs are as follow: after SS. Hilary of Poitiers, Athanasius of Alexandria, Martin of Tours, Ambrose of Milan, there are commemorated,

S. Fulgentius Bishop of Astorga.

David Seville.

Julian (19) . . . Toledo.

Julian (33) . . . Toledo.

Peter (16) . . . Toledo.

Peter (21) . . . Toledo.

John Gerunda.

Servus Dei . . . Calabria.

Felix (35) . . . Toledo.

Justus (28) . . . Toledo.

Dominic Iria.

COPTIC S. BASIL.

MOZARABIC.

our God, in Whose sight the names of the holy Apostles, and Martyrs, Confessors and Virgins, are recited.

R. Amen.

Priest. Our Priests offer the Oblation to the LORD GOD: the Pope of Rome and the rest for themselves and for all the Clergy and people of the Church committed to them, and for all the fraternity. Also all the Priests, Deacons, Clerks, and surrounding people, offer it in honour of the Saints for themselves and theirs.

Choir. They offer it for themselves and all the fraternity.

Priest. Commemorating the most blessed Apostles and Martyrs, the glorious holy Virgin Mary, Zacharias, John, the Innocents, Peter, Paul, John, James, Andrew, Philip, Thomas, Bartholomew, Matthew, James, Simon and Jude, Matthias, Mark, and Luke.

Choir. And all Martyrs^b.

Priest. Also for the souls of them that rest, Hilary, Athanasius, Martin, Ambrose, Augustine, Fulgentius, Leander, Isi-

Saturninus, } benefactors of the
 Salvatus, } Church of Toledo.
 Salvatus, }

Bernard, first Archbishop of Toledo, after its re-capture.

Raymund, second.

John, third.

Celebrunus, fourth.

Gonsalvo Perez, sixth.

Martin Lopez de Pisuerga, seventh.

Roderic Ximenes de Rades, eighth.

John de Medina, ninth.

Guterius, tenth.

Sancho, twelfth.

Sancho, thirteenth.

The remaining names are those of benefactors to the Church of Toledo.

S. CHRYSOSTOM.

ARMENIAN.

Coptic S. Basil.

MOZARABIC.

dore, David, Julian, Julian, Peter, Peter, John, Servus Dei, Visitanus, Viventus, Felix, Cyprian, Vincent, Gerontius, Zacharias, Cenapolus, Dominicus, Justus, Saturninus, Salvatus. Salvatus, Bernard, Raymund, John, Celebranus, Gundisalvus, Martin, Roderic, John, Guterius, Sancius, Sancius, Dominicus, Julian, Philip, Stephen, John, John, Felix.

Choir. And of all that rest.
Then he saith the prayer called

COLLECTIO POST NOMINA,

which varies with the day ; e. g. on the seventh Sunday after Pentecost.

Accept, O LORD, the gifts and prayers of them that offer ; that we, who with the confidence of pious servants offer to Thee the Sacrifice in which Thou art well pleased, may rejoice that, by the propitiation of that Sacrifice, we have returned into favour with Thee.

R. Amen.

For Thou art the Life of the living ; the Health of the sick ; and the Rest of all the faithful departed for eternal ages of ages.

R. Amen.

Then he saith the prayer ad pacem, also varying with the day ; e. g. on the third Sunday after Epiphany.

Be present, GOD and FATHER Almighty, to our prayers ; and grant us the fulness of charity and peace ; that we, who trust in

4. CHRYSOSTOM.

ARMENIAN.

Deacon. Let us love one another, that we may with one mind confess

Choir. FATHER, SON, and HOLY GHOST, the Consubstantial and Undivided TRINITY.

And the Priest, having thrice adored, kisses the holy gifts, as they lie veiled, saying secretly thrice,

I will love Thee, O LORD, my strength : the LORD is my stony rock and my defence.

Deacon. Salute one another with a holy kiss ; and let those, who are unable to communicate, go outside the doors, and pray there.

Choir. CHRIST hath appeared in the midst of us : and when He, Who is our GOD, is present, the voice of peace should be heard : He hath given us the power of the holy Gospel ; He hath united His Church, and hath fully bestowed upon it the bond of charity ; He hath taken away enmity, and hath poured out love through the whole world.

Now, ye His ministers, lift up your voices, and with one heart bless the Consubstantial Godhead, Who is praised by the voices of Seraphim.

COPTIC S. BASIL.

Then he saith,

Peace to all.

People. And with thy spirit.

[THE KISS OF PEACE.]

MOZARABIĆ.

Thy mercy, may live in peace and charity, ever world without end.

R. Amen.

For Thou art our true peace, and unbroken charity, and * livest with Thyself * and reignest with the Holy Ghost, One God, for ages of ages.

R. Amen.*Priest, (raising his hands to heaven.)* The grace of the LORD, the Almighty FATHER^k, the peace and love of our LORD JESUS CHRIST, and the communication of the HOLY GHOST, be ever with us all.*R.* And with all of good will.*Prayer of the kiss of peace*ⁱ.

Great and eternal GOD, Who didst form man without sin, and didst, by the quickening advent of Thine Only-Begotten SON, our LORD and GOD and SAVIOUR JESUS CHRIST, destroy death, which had entered by envy of Satan into the world; and didst fill the earth with heavenly peace: Thou Whom the choir of Angels celebrate, saying, Glory to God in the highest, and peace upon earth, goodwill to men: fill, O LORD, according to Thy good pleasure, our hearts with Thy peace: and

Priest. As ye stand, give the peace.*R.* Peace I leave you, My peace I give unto you: not as the world giveth, give I unto you. A new commandment give I unto you, that ye love one another. Peace I leave you, My peace I give unto you: not as the world giveth, give I unto you.*V.* Glory and honour be to the FATHER, and to the SON, and to the HOLY GHOST, for ever and ever. Peace I leave you, My peace I give unto you: not as the world giveth, give I unto you.*While the choir is singing the Peace, the Priest takes the par*ⁱ This Prayer of the Kiss of Peace of course really corresponds with the *Oratio ad Pacem* of the Mozarabic Office. But as that precedes, and this

follows the actual Kiss, I have been obliged to parallelise the Coptic Prayer with the short hymns of the other rites.

^k See p. 465.

*If there be two or more Priests,
each kisses the holy things, and
then each other on the shoulder,
saying,*

CHRIST is among us.

He is and will be.

*In like manner also the Deacon
adores thrice where he stands, and
kisses his horarion on its cross,
and thus exclaims,*

The doors! the doors!¹ Let
us attend in wisdom!

*The people, bowing to each other
say,*

CHRIST is in the midst of us.

The People. I believe in one
God, &c.

Deacon. Stand we well; stand
we with fear: let us attend
to offer the holy Oblation in
peace.

Deacon. Stand we well; stand
we with fear: let us attend that
we may bear the holy Oblation
in peace.

Choir. Before Thee, O LORD.

Deacon. CHRIST, the Lamb of

¹ Τὰς θύρας, τὰς θύρας ἐν σοφίᾳ πρόσ-
χωμεν. The meaning of this sentence,
which also occurs in the Armenian
Liturgy, though not till after the ana-

phora, it is impossible to determine
satisfactorily. One thing only appears
certain; that the punctuation we have
just given, and which is that of the Venice

COPTIC S. BASIL.

cleanse us from all guilt, and hatred, and deceit, and ill, and all mortal recollection of injuries. Make us worthy, O LORD, of saluting each other with a holy kiss, and of so partaking of it, that Thou mayest not repel us in judgment from Thy immortal and celestial gift, through JESUS CHRIST OUR LORD.

MOZARABIC.

from the paten, saying thus : Have the kiss of love and peace, that ye may be meet for the holy mysteries of GOD. *And forthwith he gives the pax to a Deacon or Acolyte, and he to the people.*

Afterwards he joins his hands and saith,

I will go unto the Altar of my GOD.

R. To the GOD Who rejoiceth my youth.

The People. I believe in one GOD, &c.

The Priest washes his hands, while the Nicene Creed is said.

Deacon. Approach, stand, O men, with fear, and look to the east.

Let us attend.

edition of 1839, cannot be correct. Some authors, as Cabasilas, explain it mystically, as an injunction to close the doors of the mind against worldly business and thoughts; others, much

more naturally, take it as an injunction to the Clerks, not to allow heathens, &c., to be present at the Divine Mysteries.

S. CHRYSOSTOM.

ARMENIAN.

God, without blemish, is borne
as a sacrifice.

Choir. The mercy of peace, the
sacrifice of praise.

Choir. The grace of the world,
the sacrifice of praise.

*And the Deacon adores, and
comes to the holy bema; and
taking the fan, fans the Oblation
reverently.*

Deacon. Sir, bless.

*And the Priest, taking the air
from the holy gifts, lays it on one
side, saying,*

*The Priest, turning to the people,
and signing them with the cross,
saith,*

Priest. The grace of our LORD
JESUS CHRIST, &c.; *thus begin-
ning the anaphora, for which see
the next chapter but one.*

The grace of the love, &c.
thus beginning the anaphora.

COPTIC S. BASIL.

MOZARABIC.

People. Mercy, grace, and the
sacrifice of praise.

*Then the Priest makes the sign
of the cross thrice, first over him-
self, then over the ministering
Deacons, then over the people: then
he saith,*

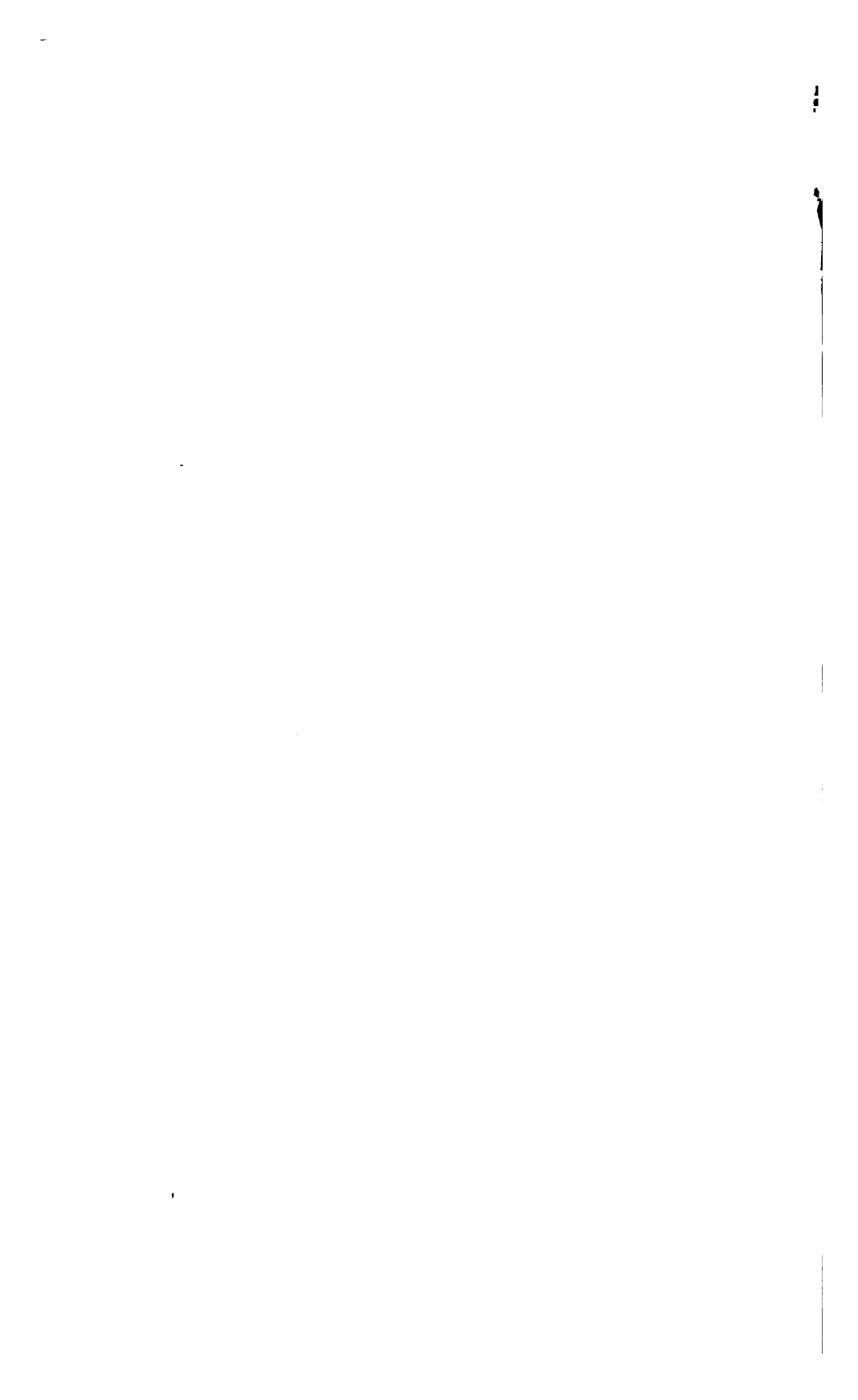
*Then he lays his hand on the
chalice, and saith,*

*The LORD be with you; thus
beginning the anaphora.*

*Your ears to the LORD; thus
beginning the anaphora.*

CHAPTER V.

DISSERTATION ON THE ANAPHORÆ OF THE
ORIENTAL LITURGIES.



CHAPTER IX.

DISSERTATION ON THE ANAPHORÆ OF THE ORIENTAL LITURGIES.

IN proceeding to a consideration of that portion of the Eucharistic service which intervenes between the commencement of the Anaphora and the Dismissal,—the Liturgy properly so called,—we shall find it convenient to divide it into twenty heads.

The great Eucharistic Prayer.	{	I. The Preface.
		II. The Prayer of the Triumphal Hymn.
		III. The Triumphal Hymn.
		IV. Commemoration of our LORD's Life.
		V. Commemoration of Institution.
The Consecration.	{	VI. Words of Institution of the Bread.
		VII. Wine.
		VIII. Oblation of the Body and Blood.
		IX. Introductory Prayer for the Descent of the HOLY GHOST.
		X. Prayer for the Change of Elements.
The great Intercessory Prayer.	{	XI. General Intercession for Quick and Dead.
		XII. Prayer before the LORD's Prayer.
		XIII. The LORD's Prayer.
		XIV. The Embolismus.
The Communion.	{	XV. The Prayer of Inclination.
		XVI. The "Holy Things for Holy Persons," and Elevation of the Host.
		XVII. The Fraction.
		XVIII. The Confession.
		XIX. The Communion.
		XX. The Antidoron: and Prayers of Thanksgiving.

I. THE PREFACE.

Having disposed of what we may consider as the introduction to the Liturgy, rather than the Liturgy itself, we now enter on the office properly so called; the anaphora of the Eastern, which is the canon together with the preface, of the Western Church. The preface is one of the most ancient, as it is one of the most universal, rites of the Church. With Western Fathers we have nothing to do; of Eastern, we may quote S. Chrysostom^a. "What art thou doing, O man? hast thou not promised the Priest who said, 'Lift up your minds and hearts,' and thou didst make answer, 'We lift them up to the LORD?'" So Anastasius Sinaita^b, after quoting the sentences; "What art thou saying? what art thou doing? Thy mind is raised to things corruptible and temporal, and darest thou to say, 'We lift them up unto the LORD?'" S. Cyril, in his fifth Catechetical Lecture, explains the preface at length. For the antiquity of the apostolic benediction in the Syrian Church, we have the authority of Theodoret, who speaks of it as the "preface to the Divine Liturgy."

The norm of the preface may be taken as consisting of these six sentences. "The grace of our LORD JESUS CHRIST, &c. And with thy spirit. Lift up your hearts. We lift. Let us give. It is meet."

In the first versicle, the Liturgy of S. Mark, agreeing therein with the Roman, Gallican, and Ambrosian, and followed by the cognate forms, Coptic S. Basil and S. Cyril, (but not Coptic S. Gregory,) gives, "The LORD be with all," instead of the apostolic benediction. That benediction is amplified in some of the Oriental Liturgies. S. James; "The^c grace of the LORD and FATHER, the grace of the LORD and SON, the communion and gift of the HOLY GHOST, be;" which

^a Hom. de S. Eucharist.

^b Ep. ad Joannem Ant.

^c Bishop Rattray, without assigning a reason, omits, in his "Ancient Liturgy of S. James," the superfluous

words. But the Clementine Liturgy is against him: which inserts *παρακαλε-
τος* before Θεοῦ, and thereby bears its testimony in favour of a similar inser-
tion.

however in the Syrian Liturgy is not retained. The Nestorian offices add, "Now, and ever, and to all ages;" and use the pronoun *us*, instead of *you*.

The first response is the same in almost all Liturgies, except the Nestorian: which, instead of "And with thy spirit," has, as necessitated by the change of pronoun, "Amen^d." This peculiarity is followed in the Syro-Jacobite Liturgy of S. Eustathius; and that of Matthew the Shepherd.

The second versicle has a few verbal differences. Thus the Clementine has simply *Ἀνω τὸν νοῦν* the Chrysostomic, *Ἀνω σχῶμεν τὰς καρδίας* that of S. James, *Ἀνω σχῶμεν τὸν νοῦν καὶ τὰς καρδίας* that of S. Mark, *Ἀνω ἡμῶν* (or as others read *ὕμῶν*) *τὰς καρδίας*. All the Syro-Jacobite Liturgies have simply, "Lift up your hearts," except that of S. Xystus, which has, "Lift we up, all of us, our minds, intellects, and hearts." Of the Nestorian Liturgies, while that of the Apostles gives the verse in the usual manner, that of Theodore the Interpreter, with very bad taste, thus paraphrases it; "Up, in the heights of heaven, in the regions of tremendous glory, where the Cherubim cease not to wave their wings, and the praise, hymn, and jubilee of the Seraphim ceaseth not, there be your minds." And that of Nestorius is word for word the same. The Armenian is anomalous. The second versicle is here said by the *Deacon*. "The doors! the doors! with all wisdom and caution! Lift up your minds on high with the fear of God."

The second response is the same in all the great Liturgies, with the exception of S. James, where it and the third versicle are omitted^e. Nor is there any material difference in the

^d As, says Renaudot, Lit. Or. ii. 77, do those of SS. Chrysostom and Basil, and he thence deduces another argument for the antiquity of the Nestorian Liturgy, of the same kind as that which we shall presently notice from the expression "changing them by the HOLY GHOST," after the prayer of invocation. But the assertion is a mistake: nor can we find the response so given in any edition of S. Chrysostom's Liturgy.

^e It is rather strange that Rattray, who is always suspecting interpolations, should in this instance suspect an omission. This peculiarity of the Liturgy of S. James *may be* only a note of its very great antiquity; inasmuch as there seems good reason for believing that the third versicle is of later date than the others: and I am not aware that any reference can be found to it in any work of an ante-Nicene Father.

other forms. Of the Syro-Jacobite, S. Xystus has, "They are lifted up to Thee, O LORD;" the others have no variation. Of the Nestorian offices, that of Theodore the Interpreter has, "They are lifted up to Thee, O GOD;" the two others, "They are lifted up to Thee, GOD of Abraham¹, Isaac, and Jacob, King of Glory." The Armenian has: "We have lifted them up to Thee, O LORD ALMIGHTY."

The third versicle has no variation, except in the Armenian, where it is said by the Deacon, "Let us give thanks unto the LORD with all our hearts;" in one Syro-Jacobite Liturgy, that of S. Xystus, where it is, "Let us give thanks unto GOD with fear, and serve Him with reverence;" and the Nestorian Liturgies, where it is excessively lengthened. The office of the Apostles has, indeed, only, "An oblation is offered to GOD, the LORD of all," but that of Theodore the Interpreter amplifies the same thought, and that of Nestorius dwells on it at still greater length; "The living and rational oblation and victim of our first-fruits, unsacrificed, of the acceptable Son of our race, Whom the Prophets prefigured by their types, the Apostles openly preached, the Martyrs acquired by the blood of their necks, (i. e. probably, 'acquired the fruition of Him,') Whom Doctors have explained in the Church, Whom Priests have presented on the Altar, Deacons have carried in their arms, people received for the expiation of their sins, is offered for all creatures in all places, to GOD the LORD of all."

The last response is virtually the same in all the known offices of the Church, with the exception of those of S. Chrysostom and S. Basil, which have, "It is meet and right to worship the FATHER, the SON, and the HOLY GHOST, the consubstantial and undivided TRINITY," and of the Ethiopic, which is thoroughly anomalous. Here after the kiss of peace the people say, "CHRIST our LORD, make us worthy of saluting Thee with a holy and heavenly kiss, that we may praise Thee with Cherubim and Seraphim, and exclaim and say, Holy, Holy," &c. Then the Priest replies, "The LORD be with you: Holy in the Holies: Holy in the Holies: Holy in

¹ In this, Dr. Grant, had he been ment for the Israelitish descent of the aware of the circumstance, would un- Nestorians. doubtedly have found another argu-

the *Holies*: we yield Thee thanks, O LORD:" and he proceeds to a long intercessory prayer, which is followed by the triumphal hymn, in the usual method.

The Mozarabic office, as always, so in this portion, bears a strong affinity to the Eastern rites. Here, however, the apostolic benediction precedes the kiss of peace; (and, so preceding it, cannot be considered the beginning of the anaphora as it is in the Eastern rites;) and the response, instead of "And with thy spirit," is, "And with all of good will." This Liturgy then links itself to the West, by adding to the kiss, the verse and response, "I will go unto the Altar of God." "To God, Who giveth joy to my youth." Then, after the singular insertion, "Your ears to the LORD," "We lift them up unto the LORD," the *Sursum Corda* follows in regular course to the end.

II. THE PRAYER OF THE TRIUMPHAL HYMN.

The Priest takes up the "It is just and right" of the people, goes through the principal blessings which God has wrought for His Church, and finally calls on the worshippers, with Angels and Archangels, and with all the Company of heaven, to join in the triumphal hymn. This is the general norm of this prayer, both in the East and West. The principal differences between the two parts of the Church are these: 1. The far greater brevity of the Western forms. 2. The difference of prefaces for different festivals in the West; whereas the Eastern Churches always use one and the same. The Roman Church, which now has only eleven, had originally a far larger number of proper prefaces, of which as many as 240* have been preserved. The Mozarabic rite has a proper preface for every Sunday and festival, and the Ambrosian has one for every day of the week.

Two of the great Liturgical families differ, each in an important respect, from the usual form of the offices in this prayer. The Nestorian Liturgies insert a petition between the last response of the people, and its commencement. The

* Bona, *Rer. Lit.* ii. 10. 2. Gravius, in libello sing. apud Corn. Schulting. Biblioth. Eccles. i. 2. 12.

simplest interpolation is in the rite of Theodore the Interpreter, where the Deacon merely says, "Peace be with us." In the Apostles', after a similar exclamation from the Deacon, the Priest burns incense, and says, "LORD, LORD, give me an open face before Thee, that, with the confidence that cometh of Thee, we may accomplish this tremendous and divine mystery, with consciences pure from all wickedness and bitterness. Sow in us, O LORD, love, peace, and concord towards each other, and towards all." In that of Nestorius, after the last response of the people, the Deacon says, "Remember ye the wonderful dispensation of CHRIST our SAVIOUR, which hath been accomplished for us, and by His rising He hath taken away our infirmities. Stand therefore with reverence and pray. Peace be to us all. *Priest.* LORD God Almighty, give us an open face before Thee." What is the source of this insertion, it is vain to enquire.

The second important difference occurs in the Alexandrine family of Liturgies: that is, in S. Mark and S. Cyril, for S. Gregory and S. Basil follow the usual norm. The peculiarity consists in the great intercessory prayer being inserted here, instead of at the end of the Invocation of the HOLY GHOST. The arrangement is undoubtedly less proper than the more common one: at the same time, it bears a closer resemblance to the Roman and Ambrosian forms, where intercession for the living precedes consecration; and to the Mozarabic and Gallican rites, where the general intercession preceded the Peace, (though the *Memento* for the dead also followed it.) The Ethiopic canon has the same arrangement, though, after the fashion of that rite, in a rude and unpolished manner.

Another thing which may be observed of this prayer is, that the Alexandrine family, so far as respects S. Basil and S. Gregory, intersperses it with exhortations from the Deacon, to "stand in prayer," the immense length of the services rendering this necessary; and to "look to the east;" and the case is the same with respect to the Ethiopic canon. Another singularity observable in the same family, in the Liturgies of S. Gregory and S. Cyril, is the use of the singular number: "It is meet and right that *I* should bless Thee," &c.

In order to connect the prayer of the triumphal hymn with the triumphal hymn which follows it, the ministry of angels is much dwelt on, especially by the Jacobites, both Syrian and Egyptian. To this the high esteem entertained for the works of S. Dionysius the Areopagite conduced in no small degree. The usually received theory in the East, as in the West, assigns nine orders to the celestial hierarchy. And to this effect Severus of Aschumin explains the parable concerning the woman that had ten pieces of silver, and lost one of them, the lost one being man. Yet the same Severus, in another tract, mentions one hundred orders of Angels, and explains the parable of the one hundred sheep concerning them in a similar way. In the Syrian Liturgies, mention is sometimes made of the *Watchers* as a distinct class, from "the watcher and holy one" of the Prophet Daniel. The word ܡܚܝܬܐ, there employed by him, has remained in the Syrian language^b, and doubtless has given rise to their superior veneration for this class of spirits.

In the Ethiopic Liturgy, we find four Archangels particularized: Michael, Gabriel, Raphael, and Suriel; the last more commonly known by the name of Uriel; as well as the four Living Creatures, (to whom indeed the celebrated Ethiopic Monk Tecla Haimanoth dedicated a church,) and the four and twenty elders. In the Syrian Liturgy of Philoxenus, the *manner* in which the hierarchical orders praise God is somewhat singularly given. "The jubilees of Angels; the songs of Archangels; the concerts of Principalities; the dances of Virtues; the lyres of Powers; the pure and grateful voices of Dominations; the clamours of Thrones; the thunders of Cherubim; the swift motion of Seraphim." Abu'lfaraj compares the celestial and terrestrial hierarchies. He classes Angels with Singers; Archangels with *Anagnostæ*¹, and so on, up to Cherubim and Seraphim, who are represented by Metropolitans and Patriarchs.

The Liturgy of Joseph Bar Wahib curiously enough derives the sight which Angels possess of the "light of God's

^b Morinus, ad Offic. Syr. Comment. ap. Renaud. i. 299.

Lit. Or. ii. 458, seems defective or corrupt.

¹ But the whole passage,—Renaud.

curacy" through the medium of Archangels: the enjoyment which Archangels draw from the contemplation of the brightness of *THE LANCET* through that of the Principality: and so on up to the Seraphim, who are illuminated, without any medium, from the sanctuary of the seat of *GOD'S* glory.

The prayer of the triumphal hymn varies exceedingly in length. It is remarkable that the Coptic one should be the longest, and one of the most inflated of all the extant forms. Many of the Syro-Jacobite Liturgies are chargeable with the same fault as, for example, that of John of Bassora. In others of the same family it is even too short: as in the office of S. Xystus: "With heart, soul, and tongue, we give thanks to Thee, FATHER, SON, and HOLY GHOST, Who art One true GOD. With the invisible bands, and innumerable orders, all Thy faithful people, LORD, join themselves spiritually and seraphically, who thrice glorify Thee, cry, vociferate, and say;—" and the second of S. Peter, "It is verily meet and just to praise and extol Thee, the Creator of all creatures, as well in heaven as on earth. We praise Thee, LORD, with the Angels, and legions of Archangels, who with voices of praise, cry, shout, and say;—"

It may be observed that the conclusion of this prayer usually, though by no means universally, ends with a fourfold series of epithets to the praises of the Angels. The Constantinopolitan ritualists explain that of S. Chrysostom, of the four Evangelists: *ᾄδοντες*, singing, (like the eagle,) *βοῶντες*, bellowing, (as the ox,) *κρηγυῖντες*, crying, (as the lion,) *λέγοντες*, speaking, (as the man.) And this seems a more natural explanation than another, which represents the four quarters of the globe as referred to in these words.

III. THE TRIUMPHAL HYMN.

I purpose in this introduction to confine myself strictly to the Oriental distinction of the four great Eucharistic hymns.

1. The *Angelic*, which we know as the *Gloria in Excelsis*.
2. The *Cherubic*, which I have before noticed in its place.

3. The *Trisagion*, which the Roman Church retains on Good Friday, "Holy God, holy and mighty, holy and immortal, have mercy on us." 4. The *Triumphal*, which Western writers call the *Tersanctus*, and which we are now considering. But though this is the strictly correct difference, great confusion arises from the perpetual interchange of the names; an interchange the easier, as the Constantinopolitan family alone possesses the Cherubic hymn, and the angelic hymn is not used (except by Nestorians) in the *Liturgy*.

The triumphal hymn itself requires scarcely a remark. Its simplest form, without the addition of the Hosanna, exists in the Clementine Liturgy, and in that of S. Mark. S. James has the additional clause; which in the Syriac rite is still further amplified into "Blessed is He That cometh and shall come in the Name of the LORD."

The Syro-Jacobite Liturgy of Matthew the Shepherd is anomalous, in following the prayer of the triumphal hymn with the "There is One Holy FATHER," &c., which we shall have occasion to dwell on at the elevation of the Host; and so also is that of Dioscorus, of the same family, which, after the prayer, directs the people merely to say "Amen," and the Priest then follows with a kind of expanded *Sanctus*.

IV. THE COMMEMORATION OF OUR LORD'S LIFE AND PASSION.

This, in fact, forms but one Eucharistic prayer with the preceding, divided into two parts by the triumphal hymn. The norm is a thanksgiving to God for His holiness, and love to man, as exemplified in the whole economy of grace; and more especially in the conception, birth, life, actions, and sufferings of our LORD; and thus the institution of the Holy Eucharist is introduced with "Who, in the same night in which He was betrayed."

The Church of Constantinople has nothing remarkable in this part of its Liturgies, except the length and beauty of the office of S. Basil.

The Alexandrine family has, in the Liturgies of S. Mark and S. Cyril, the peculiarity of a prayer of invocation of the HOLY GHOST. In the former it runs thus, "Full in truth is the heaven and the earth of Thy holy glory, through the manifestation of our LORD and GOD and SAVIOUR JESUS CHRIST: fill, O GOD, this sacrifice also with Thy blessing, through the visitation of Thy most HOLY SPIRIT." The latter, yet more remarkably, has, "Fill this Thy sacrifice, O LORD, with Thy benediction, by the illapse of the HOLY GHOST upon it. + Amen. And blessing, bless it. + Amen. And purifying, purify it. + Amen." The theory of this seems to be, that, as in all Liturgies there is the double Oblation, 1. of the Bread and Wine, 2. of the Body and Blood of CHRIST, so it was thought fit that there should be a double invocation of the HOLY GHOST, first, on the Bread and Wine, next on the Body and Blood of CHRIST. And on this supposition, the whole force of the change would be thrown on the words of institution; and the Alexandrine Liturgies would, as they might be expected to do, come nearer to the Roman form.

The Liturgies, however, of S. Coptic Basil and S. Gregory, do not contain this peculiarity; nor does the Ethiopic. These three agree with each other in breaking the prayer by responds. Thus, in S. Basil, where the Priest expresses his belief in the second Advent of the LORD, wherein He shall judge the quick and dead, the people are directed to exclaim, "According to Thy mercies, O LORD, and not according to our sins." And in the formula of S. Gregory, which is much longer, and very beautiful, though remarkable for being in the singular number, besides that respond, the people are thrice previously instructed to say *Kyrie Eleison*. The Liturgy of S. Basil is singular in not proceeding to the words of institution with the formula, "in the same night in which He was betrayed," but simply and abruptly: "He instituted this great mystery of piety and religion for us, when He had resolved to yield Himself to death for the life of the world." The same thing may also be said of the Mozarabic in its present form, though clearly in ancient times it must have agreed with the general theory of Liturgies, as the title of the succeeding prayer, the *Post Prædic*,

remains to prove, though the word *Pridie* does not now occur in the canon¹.

S. James, without possessing the fulness of S. Basil, is, perhaps, for its length, the most beautiful formula. It agrees in its Greek version with that of S. Chrysostom in the phrase, "In the night in which He was betrayed, *or rather surrendered Himself* for the life of the world," and therein differs from every other form². And as this phrase does not occur in the Syrian edition of S. James, nor in any Liturgy of the Syro-Jacobite family, I am disposed to consider it an interpolation from the example of Constantinople³.

The Syro-Jacobite forms agree pretty closely with each other. They are usually short, with the exceptions of John of Bassora and S. Basil; generally omitting the words, "In the same night," (though they are sometimes given, as in S. Julian and S. John.) It is singular that, though reference is made of necessity to the Incarnation, the Monophysite heresy hardly ever manifests itself. In some instances, indeed, the mystery is dwelt on with needless minuteness: as in S. Dionysius; "Conceived, formed, and configured by the HOLY GHOST and of the virgin blood of the holy Virgin, Mary, mother of God," &c. Much more dignified is the reserve in which S. Ignatius envelopes the subject; "Who was incarnate in an ineffable manner, and was made man, as He willed and knew."

The shortest form is perhaps that of Philoxenus of Hierapolis; "Thou art holy and to be praised, O LORD our God, Who didst send Thy SON into the world, and He took a body of the Virgin Mary, and accomplished the dispensation, and saved the work of His hands, not receding from that which was God."

Of the Nestorian Liturgies, that of the Apostles commences this prayer in the usual way; but in the place where "In

¹ See Arevalus, Not. in Missal. Mozarab., p. 1337.

² S. Basil and S. Mark have, "In the night wherein He surrendered Himself:" but He was *betrayed* is not given.

³ And I wonder that Bishop Rattray does not class it as such; for the quotation he produces from S. Cyril, 'Εαυτὸν ἀντίλυτρον παραδούς, is surely not much to the point.

the same night that He was betrayed" might be expected to occur. It concludes with a kind of repetition of the *Tersanctus*, and, as we shall see, passes on to the intercession for quick and dead. The other two forms contain nothing remarkable.

V. COMMEMORATION OF INSTITUTION.

Here we have, in the first place, three things to notice, held by the common belief of the Church, but not mentioned in Holy Scripture.

1. It is well known that the greater part of the Church asserts in the canon that our Lord raised His eyes to heaven before breaking the bread. It is so in all the great Western forms², except the Mozarabic, as it also was in the Gelasian and Gregorian orders. Two of the Liturgical families of the East, as well as the Clementine, agree in this; namely, the Alexandrine and the Hierosolymitan, except its Constantinopolitan branch. The Nestorian omits the assertion: and it is another singular coincidence between these rites and that of Constantinople. It must be remembered that we cannot say what the normal Liturgy, the Apostles', had in this place, the words of institution being now omitted. S. Mark and S. James twice repeat the looking up to heaven; before the consecration of the chalice, as well as before that of the bread.

When I mention the Hierosolymitan family as agreeing in this particular, I do not mean that every Liturgy it contains embraces it, for Syriac S. James³, and by consequence many of the Syriac Liturgies, omit it. The greater part confine themselves to saying that our Lord elevated the bread; an amplification of the ἀναδείξας Σοὶ τῷ Θεῷ καὶ Πατρί of S. Basil and S. James. Syriac S. Clement is singular in men-

² *Rom.* Elevatis oculis in cælum ad Te Deum Patrem Suum. *Ambros.* The same. *Galic.* The same.

³ I know that, as Renandot has published it, (*Lit. Or.* i. 31,) it is in-

serted: but this was one of the additions made by the Roman censors. *Asserman*, v. 136, gives the passage without it.

tioning the elevation of the eyes, with the chalice only, not with the bread. But it would be endless to particularize these minute differences.

2. A point of greater importance is the mingling of water with the wine. I need not prove from the third Council of Carthage, the fourth of Orleans, that of Auxerre (A.D. 578), that of Worms (A.D. 868), from S. Cyprian, and S. Augustine, that the practice is universal in the Western Church. So in the Eastern, S. Justin^o (I might add S. Irenæus^p) will be sufficient testimony for very early times: S. John Damascene^q and the Council in Trullo, for a later period. Various reasons have been given for this practice; as the spiritual union betwixt CHRIST and His Church^r, the Water and the Blood poured^s forth on the Cross, the two Natures in one Person of our LORD. The latter, however, is the general explanation of the Eastern Church; and was the reason why the Armenians, being pure Eutychians, celebrate in wine alone.

In none of its branches, however, does the Western Church insert the mixed cup in the canon; whereas the Eastern mentions the mingling with wine and water in all her families, except the Constantinopolitan, and in one or two uses, as the Liturgy of Theodore the Interpreter, apparently influenced by it. S. Chrysostom omits all reference to it, and S. Basil simply has, "He mingled." But other Liturgies are consentient. Take for example, of the Alexandrine family, S. Gregory: "Thou didst take the chalice, and mingle it of the fruit of the vine and water." Of the Nestorian, Nestorius: "In like manner He mingled the chalice of wine and water." The Syrian Jacobites amplify after their wont; S. Marutas; "In like manner also He took wine, and

^o Apol. ii.

^p S. Iren. iv. 57.

^q De Fid. Orthod. ed. Le Quien, i. 269. Ἐπειδὴ θεὸς τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἄρτον ἐσθίειν, ὕδωρ τε καὶ οἶνον πίνειν, συνέζευξεν αὐτοῖς τὴν Ἀβροῦ Θεότητα, καὶ πεποίηκεν αὐτὰ Σῶμα καὶ Αἷμα Ἀβροῦ.

^r Concil. Vormatiens. Can. 4. Quia videmus aquâ populum intelligi, in

vino vero ostendi Sanguinem CHRISTI: a passage which we wonder has not been seized upon by the defenders of the Zuinglian doctrine,—one half of the oblation being so evidently merely typical and metaphorical: as the like reason in S. Cyprian's Epistle to Cæcilian.

^s S. August. Sermon. in Neophyt.: "Hoc accipite in Calice, quod manavit de Christi latere."

when He had mingled it in just proportion with water." S. James of Edessa; "In like manner He mingled the chalice temperately, of wine and water." One or two, as S. Julius, omit the mixing: "In like manner also He gave thanks over the chalice, He blessed," &c.; which may lead to the suspicion that the Liturgy is purely Eutychian¹.

3. It has always been a pious opinion² in the Western Church, that our Lord Himself communicated in that first Liturgy. "He," says S. Jerome, writing to Hedibia, "was Himself the Guest and the Banquet." So S. Irenæus³; "When He had given thanks, taking the chalice, He drank of it, and gave it to them, saying," &c. In the Constantinopolitan Church, S. Chrysostom⁴; "That they then might not be troubled, He Himself did this first . . . this was the reason that He drank His own Blood." The Syrian Jacobite Doctors are decided on the point. Gregory Abu'lfaraj; "It is demanded whether CHRIST ate of the bread, and drank of the wine which He had made His Body and Blood. We answer that He ate: whereof the proof is that He said, 'I will not eat of this bread, nor drink of this cup, until that day that I drink it,' " &c. Dionysius Barsalib, after giving the same answer, and the same reason, proceeds, "S. Ephraim says, that His disciples ate of His Body, and He ate of it with them; and drank of His Blood, and He drank of it also. So John Chrysostom," &c.

James of Edessa says that He ate and drank of His true Blood. Cyriacus, Patriarch of Antioch, and Moses Bar Cepha, teach the same thing. And in another place the latter gives a mystical explanation why the Priest communicates first; "Because CHRIST in the upper chamber first communicated of the Body and Blood, which afterwards He distributed to others."

But although there is this consensus in favour of the fact,

¹ The Liturgy of S. James, published by Asseman, and supposed (and I think justly) by him to be the Græco-Sicilian form, (Cod. Lit. ii. 80,) is unfortunately rather mutilated in this place: but the mixed cup would seem

not to have been mentioned. This, in that case, was doubtless an approximation to the Western usage.

² See S. Thomas, iii. 4. 87.

³ S. Iren. v. 35.

⁴ S. Chrysost. Hom. 82. in S. Matth.

there are very few of the Eastern Liturgies which mention it. The Constantinopolitan family does not recognise it. Of the Alexandrine: Coptic S. Basil; "He blessed it. Amen. And sanctified it. Amen. And *tasted it*, and gave it to His Apostles." Coptic S. Gregory; "Thou didst bless it. Amen. And didst sanctify it. Amen. And didst taste it, and give it to Thy glorious and holy Disciples." Coptic S. Cyril, here departing from the norm of S. Mark, has the same words. The Ethiopic Liturgy contains, however, no assertion of the kind.

Of the Syro-Jacobite family, although the normal Liturgy, Syriac S. James, omits the fact, other forms have it. James of Edessa, of the bread; "He gave thanks +, He blessed +, He brake +, He *ate*, and gave to His disciples, saying;" but in the consecration of the chalice this is not mentioned. Abu'lfaraj; "He blessed, He sanctified, He brake, and *when He had eaten*, He gave it;" which also makes no mention of the cup.

So in that of Ignatius the Patriarch; "He blessed, He sanctified, He brake, *He ate*, and gave to the assembly of His holy Apostles, and said." And in that of Basil; "He took, He mingled with water, He gave thanks, He blessed, He sanctified, He *tasted*." And in Dioscorus of Cardou; "He blessed, He sanctified, He brake, and gave to the assembly of His twelve, after *He Himself had communicated*, saying." Of the Nestorian family, the Liturgy of Nestorius alone; "He blessed, and brake, *and ate*, and gave to His disciples." . . . "In like manner He mingled the chalice of wine and water, and blessed, and *drank*, and gave to His disciples."

I may observe that the Alexandrine family mentions our Lord's drinking only, the Syro-Jacobite, with the exception of S. Basil, His eating only. The Liturgy of Nestorius alone embraces both particulars.

These three facts then,—the raising the eyes to heaven, the mingling the cup of wine and water, and the communicating,—may be considered as parts of Catholic tradition. I cannot say so much for another addition, made by some of the Oriental Liturgies.

I shall have occasion, in a future part of this work, to dis-

cross the question of the use of leavened or unleavened bread: and as connected with it: whether our Lord ate, or did not eat, the Mosaic Passover. The controversy is of late origin, and any reference to it in a Liturgy proves only the lateness and comparative worthlessness of the office itself.

There is no reference to this question in the Constantinopolitan or Alexandrine families, but it occurs several times in the Syro-Jacobite.

In the Liturgy of Joseph Bar Wahnib: "He took perfect bread into His hands full of benedictions." By the word *perfect* the author not only intended to express the admixture of leaven, but of a little salt and oil, according to the use of the Syrian Jacobites: an use rejected with contempt, as we had occasion to observe in the History of Alexandria¹, by Abdel Messiah, sixty-sixth Jacobite Patriarch of that See. So in the Liturgy of Dioscorus of Cardou; "He took bread, after He had accomplished the Mosaic Passover." Matthew the Shepherd; "He took leavened bread, in which the mystery of life was hidden." On the contrary the Liturgy of James Baradaeus has, "He took common bread into His holy hands:" and, in like manner, the invocation in the Liturgy of S. Marutas; "And change this *simple*^a bread, and make it that Body which was sacrificed for us on the Cross." Hence some, as Faustus Nairon, have attempted to prove that azymes were not totally unknown to the Eastern Church. But the words are not sufficient to establish this, unless we had some other grounds for believing that the Oriental Communions did use unleavened bread, which we have not. I would rather, if I might venture a conjecture on the subject, construe it as a protest against the use of salt and oil, which we know to have been extremely offensive to many of the Jacobites.

Of the Nestorian Liturgies, that of Nestorius alone alludes to the controversy. "When the time was come in which He was delivered for the life of the world, after He had supped on the Passover of the Law of Moses," &c.

This is perhaps the most suspicious circumstance with respect to the high antiquity of this rite. But the words may

¹ Hist. Alex. ii. 214.

^a The word is *ἁπλοῦς*.

very easily be an insertion, or they may be accidental, so to speak, and not have reference to the controversy. At all events, it in no way affects the Liturgy of the apostles.

The Armenians, who, as we shall see, use azymes, do not refer to the question in their Liturgy.

VI. and VII. WORDS OF INSTITUTION OF THE BREAD AND WINE.

It is known to every one that the Latin Church in consecrating the Body of our LORD, uses only these five words, **FOR THIS IS MY BODY**. The Ambrosian agrees with it^b. The Mozarabic office alone makes a slight addition: **THIS IS MY BODY WHICH SHALL BE GIVEN FOR YOU**; and even in that, though the original formula is given in the text, the Roman use has, since the time of Cardinal Ximenes, been appended in a note, and the Priest is directed to employ it. The case with respect to the Eastern Church is widely different.

We may divide all the Eastern Liturgies, so far as regards this formula, into four classes.

a. Those which recite only our LORD's words, or words all but the same.

β. Those which amplify or alter them, yet so as to leave no doubt of the validity of the consecration.

γ. Those which so alter them as to make the validity of the consecration doubtful, or something worse.

δ. Those which omit, or are said to omit them altogether.

a. Under the first head, we may class the best Liturgies, of whatever family, except the Nestorian rite of the apostles. The Clementine; "This is My Body, which is broken for many, for the remission of sins." S. Chrysostom and S. Basil; "This is My Body, which is broken for you, for remission of sins." S. Mark; "This is My Body, which is broken for you, and distributed for remission of sins;" with which Alexandrine S. Basil very nearly agrees, "For this is My Body which is broken for you, and is given for many for the remission of

^b Unless we read with Pamelius, in Corpus Meum, quod pro vobis confringitur." the Ambrosian rite, "Hoc est enim

sins." S. James, in its Greek form, is all but word for word the same as S. Mark; in its Syriac version, the words "and for many," are also inserted. And the Nestorian Liturgies of Theodore the Interpreter and Nestorius agree exactly with S. Chrysostom, another intimation of their partial source.

β. The Syriac Liturgies are principally guilty of unauthorized additions to the sacred words. Dioscorus of Cardou; "This is My Body which is broken and given for the life of the world, for the expiation of transgressions and remission of sins;" which however is taken from S. John vi. 51, "The bread that I will give is My Flesh, which I will give for the life of the world;" and may therefore be excused. Michael of Antioch; "This is My Body which is broken for you, and is given for the expiation of crimes, and the remission of sins, and the new life which is to come." S. Eustathius; "This is My Body, which prepareth you and all the faithful that receive It for eternal life." This form is the only one which omits the expression of S. Luke and S. Paul, "Which is given for you;" and therein of all the Oriental Liturgies alone agrees with the Roman formulæ. John of Bassora; "This is My Body, which is broken and divided for you and for many, for the expiation of transgressions, and eternal life." Philoxenus of Hierapolis; "This is My Body, which for you and for many is broken and divided for the remission of sins, and eternal life." Moses Barcepha with still greater amplification; "This is My Body which is broken and divided for all that believe in Me, for expiation of transgressions, for remission of sins, and eternal life." James of Edessa introduces a novel expression; "This is My Body which is broken and divided for the life of creatures, the remission of sins and eternal life." Ignatius Bar Maadn; "This is My true Body, which for the life and salvation of the whole human race is broken and given for the expiation of sins and eternal life." In like manner Syriac S. John Chrysostom and Dioscorus; "This is truly My Body," &c.

These may serve as specimens of amplifications innoxious so far as the validity of the Sacrament is concerned, though not to be acquitted of presumption in interpolating those

most solemn words of our SAVIOUR with expressions which He never used.

γ. But alterations have been made in some Liturgies with respect to the words of institution which render them of doubtful validity, or certainly invalid. I begin with those for which the best defence may be made.

The Syriac Liturgy of Ignatius Bar Wahib has this form ; "This is My *Flesh*, which for you and for many like you is broken, sanctified, and given for the abolition of sins and eternal life." There can be no doubt that the author of this formula was guilty of wicked presumption in altering the express words of CHRIST ; and Western missionaries have therefore constantly protested against its employment. As to the validity of such a form, I do not offer any opinion ; yet considering that the difference is purely verbal, was not made with any malicious intention, and seems to have been accidental, it may be hoped that it is valid, though the formula ought undoubtedly to be abolished.

The Ethiopic canon has ; "This *Bread* is My Body, which is broken for you for the remission of sins. Amen." This formula has afforded great matter of jubilation to Ludolph, Albertinus, and other Protestants, as giving them ground for alleging that the Ethiopic Church rejects all idea of any kind of change in the elements. If that Communion really believed this, as it is very easy to shew that it does not, the only consequence would be that, in addition to its heresy on the subject of the Incarnation, it has admitted one also in the holy Eucharist. But the question for us is, whether allowing the Ethiopians to agree with the rest of the Eastern Church in the efficacy of the Priest's words, the variation of the formula alone is sufficient to make the act invalid. That it is pronounced with a perfectly good intent, the response of the people is amply sufficient to convince us : "Amen, Amen, Amen. We believe and are certain : we praise Thee our LORD GOD : this" (not this bread) "is truly (and we thus believe) Thy Body." This point being manifest, the formula, although unauthorized, is not such as to invalidate the rite, "This is My Body." There is no doubt that when the two first words are pronounced, that which is

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said, Take and eat for the remission of sins and eternal life. In like manner also, mingling the cup with wine and water, He blessed, sanctified, and said to them, Take and drink ye all of it, for the remission of sins and eternal life."

S. Xystus; "Who when He was prepared for His salutary passion, in the bread which was blessed by Him, sanctified, broken, and distributed to His holy Apostles, sanctifying His body, He gave it to us, saying, Take and eat of this, for the expiation of transgressions, the remission of sins, and eternal life."

Finally, in the Nestorian Liturgy of the Apostles^d, the

^c In the two last-mentioned Liturgies the words of institution are inserted by Renaudot without sufficient authority, in the text, though he apprizes us of the insertion in his notes.

^d In the catalogue of Syriac MSS. at the British Museum, there appears to be only one belonging to the Nestorian Church. It is a small quarto, in good binding, but within in a very sad condition, the paper being damp and in some parts fast perishing. It is marked in the catalogue "Liturgiæ Nestorianorum Syr. Sæc. xvi. Rich. 7181." The book contains, for the catalogue describes its contents incorrectly,

I. A set of prayers for morning and evening use, with this title, "By the strength of *JESUS CHRIST*, we begin to write the prayers of the evening and the morning," &c.

II. The Liturgy of the Apostles: "By the strength, &c., to write the Holy Office of the Apostles which was made by Mar Adi and Mar Maari, the blessed Apostles."

III. The Liturgy of Theodore, here called the interpreter of the divine Scriptures.

IV. The Liturgy of Nestorius; thus, "By the strength, &c., to write the Liturgy of Mar Nestorius, Patriarch of Byzantium, which is Constantino-

polis the city."

V. The Office of Holy Baptism, by Mar Jesujahab, Catholicus.

VI. Another Office by the same Catholicus, Jesujahab.

VII. Various occasional prayers and benedictions.

The writer has a memorandum at the end, in which he says he completed the book "the second day in the week, the tenth of the month Thammuz, in the year of the Greeks 1991," which answers to A.D. 1679.

Now there is no doubt that this is a genuine Nestorian manuscript. In another memorandum he says it was done in the days of the pious, elect, illustrious and exalted governor, Mari Elias, Catholicus, Patriarch of the East, and of all the ends of the world." This clearly shews that it is not a Latinizing copy. The Elias here mentioned was the eighth of that name, who died in 1700, and, as it appears from the proceedings of Pope Innocent XI., was an inveterate Nestorian. In this MS. the words of institution do not occur; the place where they might be expected (folio 39) is just as translated by Renaudot. As these Liturgies are very rare in Europe, and as they have not yet been printed in the original, I have given the portion in question in an Appendix

words of institution do not occur at all : though in emended copies they follow the invocation of the HOLY GHOST^e.

Here then we have four Liturgies which all omit what the Western Church regards as the great essential of a valid Eucharist, the Eastern as one of the two great essentials. The question is, whether the omission arises from pure ignorance, carelessness, negligence of transcribers, or deliberate intention.

It is argued by Renaudot that the words of consecration were omitted, either by some fault in transcription, or because they were to be sought elsewhere. He grounds his assertion chiefly on the argument that the Orientals, equally with the Roman Church, regard them as necessary to a valid Eucharist. "It must *de jure* be so," is his logic, "and therefore, *de facto*, it is so." The only other shadow of an argument which he brings forward is, that in some copies of one or two of the disputed Liturgies, as in the second of S. Peter, where there is no trace of interference on the part of the Western missionaries, the words of institution do occur ; and that in the lesser Liturgy of S. James, which was intended by the Maphrian Gregory to embrace in the briefest space possible all essentials, they are retained.

On the other hand, Faustus Nairon (no great authority certainly) and Simon contend that the words of institution were omitted because the compilers of the forms where it is wanting considered the whole transmuting efficacy to be in the invocation of the HOLY GHOST. And to this opinion I, with some hesitation, accede ; and that for the following reasons.

* I cannot, however, imagine why that position was chosen for their insertion ; they would much more naturally come in the usual place. In the Eucharistic prayer the Priest says, "Thou hast illuminated our intelligence, O LORD our God, and condemned our enemy, and made the infirmity of our nature to triumph. *Through Thy loving-kindness and grace,*

O Lord of mercy, forgive my sins and offences," &c. It would be much more natural to omit the words marked in italics, and in their place to substitute something of the following kind, "Through our LORD JESUS CHRIST, Who, when He had accomplished all the dispensation, in the same night in which He was betrayed," &c.

1. In answer to Renaudot's explanation, I may observe that it is a mere theory. The facts are, that in the principal Liturgy of the Nestorians, the words of institution are wanting; and that (whatever might have been the intention of the composer) they are not, at the present time, supplied from any other source. For the Chaldaean Patriarch Joseph, in inveighing against the Nestorians, expressly asserts that, in the Liturgy of the Apostles, they do omit the words of institution. After laying down the matter, the form, and the minister of the Sacrament, and telling his readers that, if one of these be invalid, it vitiates the rite, he adds, "But among you one of these three things *is* wanting, contrary to the discipline of the whole Christian world, namely, the substantial words, WHICH ARE NOT SAID BY YOU^f."

2. It is very true that the words of institution may in some Liturgies, as in that of S. Peter II., be inserted without doing any particular violence to the context; but in the Apostles', and still more in Dionysius Bar Salib, it is impossible to suspect a mere omission; the whole tenor of the Eucharistic prayer shewing, that, if a change has been made in it at all, it was done advisedly and deliberately.

3. It is clear (as I shall have presently occasion to shew) that the general belief of the Eastern Church denies the words of our LORD to be *in themselves* sufficient to a valid Eucharist. Certain it is, that without them she believes that there can be no consecration at all; but the true Eastern doctrine seems to be that there must be co-operation of the words of institution and of the invocation of the HOLY GHOST, before the bread and wine become the Body and Blood of CHRIST. This was the sentiment, as we shall hereafter state more at length, of Mark of Ephesus, and the strict Oriental party in the Council of Florence; and, without admitting their extreme views, we may nevertheless agree with them that the omission of the invocation is a very great blot in the Roman Liturgy, and in all others derived from it, our own included.

^f Asseman, B. O. iii. 203.

4. From hence it follows, that, *in a certain sense*, the validity of the Holy Eucharist may, by the Eastern Church, be said to be *affected* by this invocation, because, though the latter is not effectual in and by itself, until it is pronounced, the Eucharist is not completely valid.

5. This being allowed, a corruption of doctrine was very likely to occur. Just as in the Latin Church, where the words of institution are alone considered necessary to make a valid Eucharist, an erroneous doctrine sprang up, and prevailed to some extent, to the effect that a Priest at any time, in any place, and without any further rites, could consecrate bread and wine by merely laying his hand upon them and saying, "This is My Body," "This is My Blood;" so by a process precisely identical, though exactly the reverse, it is very probable that in the Eastern Church an opinion might arise to the effect that the invocation of the HOLY GHOST, by which consecration was effected, effected it alone. And such a corruption was the more likely to happen in a country separated from the great Thrones, not only by distance, but still more effectually by heresy; and this was just the case with the Nestorians and Syro-Jacobites, in whose offices this defect occurs.

6. If it be objected that it is inconceivable that a Church should be in the habit of sometimes using a valid and sometimes an invalid form, I reply that it is not more extraordinary than that, in one and the same Liturgy, the formula of consecration for the bread should be insufficient, and that for the wine, Catholic; yet this is actually the case in the Liturgy of Matthew the Shepherd.

7. Next follows the very important question, To what period are we to attribute the omission of the words of institution? To believe that a rite, which we have had occasion to ascribe to the most remote antiquity, did not originally possess them, is monstrous; and had the case been so, a learned divine like Theodore the Interpreter, and Nestorius, who had influence to introduce Liturgies of their own, with the right form of institution, must have been able, and must have seen the necessity of inserting them in the normal form. We must imagine, therefore, that it was at a late period

that the prayer of institution was changed among the Nestorians, as it was for certain in the Mozarabic rite, though at what time and in what manner we cannot profess to explain.

We have next to observe, that in almost all the Oriental Liturgies, the words of institution of the bread are followed by the people's saying, "Amen." The Liturgies of S. Clement, S. James, and of the Nestorian family, are almost the only notable exceptions, while the Ethiopic Canon thus expands the word, "Amen, Amen, Amen, we believe and are certain, we praise Thee, O our God; this is truly (and we thus believe it) Thy Body." The word "Amen" may either be understood as expressing assent to the verity of the evangelical narration, or to the change of the elements; and it would seem that both interpretations are authorized by the Eastern Church, and received in the same parts of it. Thus, for example, in the Coptic Communion, while the Æthiopic Canon expresses the latter meaning, the author of the *Scientia Ecclesiastica* expressly supports the former^c.

Of the words of institution of the wine I have little to say beyond what has been observed respecting those of the bread; one thing I may remark, that, while in the latter the Latin is so much the briefest form of any, in the former it is the longest of all. "For this is the chalice of My Blood, of the New and Eternal Testament, the mystery of faith, which for you and for many shall be poured forth for the remission of sins;" in the insertion of the words "eternal," and "the mystery of faith," the Roman Church stands alone^d.

The Clementine most simply of all, "This is My Blood, which is shed for many for the remission of sins." The Constantinopolitan family agrees word for word with the form as given in our own Prayer-Book. And the same thing may be said of the Alexandrine, except that S. Mark,

^c Renaud, Or. Lit. i. 235.

^d For I agree with Binterim and Pamelius in opposition to Saxius, that the earliest phrase in the Ambrosian

Liturgy was simply, "For this is My Blood," and that the Roman form was a later alteration.

S. Gregory, and S. Cyril, have "*which is shed and distributed,*" &c. ; and this is also the formula of S. James, both Syriac and Greek : the Syriac version giving a first hint at amplification, by adding the words "and eternal life." And this amplification is, of course, still more largely followed up by other members of the same family. S. John ; "This is the cup of My Blood of the New Testament ; take, drink ye all of it ; this is shed for the life of the world, for the expiation of transgressions and remission of sins to all that believe in Me for ever and ever." This and the Liturgy of James Baradæus are unique examples of the command, "Drink ye all of this" being transposed so as to follow the words "This is My Blood." S. Clement ; "This is My Blood, which confirms the testament of My death, which is poured forth for you, and is given for many, and is divided for the propitiation of iniquities, the remission of sins, and eternal life." S. Ignatius ; "This is My Blood, which I give for the life of the world, and which prepareth you and many for the remission of sins, and eternal life."

These may serve as examples of the verbal differences which exist in the various Syriac Liturgies as to this formula ; to those of graver import I need not here refer, having already noticed their correlatives under the words of institution of the bread, with the single exception of Matthew the Shepherd. This Liturgy has the institution of the bread, as we have already seen, in a valid, though somewhat anomalous form ; that of the cup runs thus, "He blessed, He sanctified, and also gave it to those initiated in His Mystery, and commended it to them that they should all communicate of it ; and declared that in it should be salvation to them that drank it, when they used it in a pure conscience, and to the remission of transgressions, forgiveness of sins, and eternal life."

The Nestorian Liturgies contain nothing that calls for remark.

The Liturgy of S. Chrysostom is the only one in which either before or after the people have said *Amen*, the Priest does not recite the words "Do this in remembrance of Me ;" words which, as Cardinal Bona so beautifully observes, are

so necessary to the rite, "for who¹," says he, "would presume to eat and drink of so great a mystery, except by our Lord's express command?" Several of the Syro-Jacobite Liturgies, however, recite these words in the third person, and some of them rather refer to, than quote the command. Nor is the formula by any means the same in all; for example, S. Peter I. runs thus, "And that they should receive the most sweet fruit of that divine operation, He commanded them after this sort, 'As often as ye are met together, commemorate Me.'" Dioscorus; "And when ye shall celebrate this quickening and holy Mystery, believe and be certain that ye eat and live of My Body, and drink of My Blood, to the expiation of crime, and remission of sins."

Many of the offices, as S. Basil, S. Clement, and S. Mark, add, putting the words of S. Paul into the Saviour's mouth, "For as often as ye eat this Bread, and drink this Cup, ye shew forth My death" (some add, "and commemorate My resurrection") "till I come." Exception has been taken at this insertion^k, and not altogether unreasonably, when recited in the first person; but when, as in the Liturgy of S. James, put into the third, it is surely not open to any cavil.

The Liturgy of S. James, followed by all the Syro-Jacobite offices, puts into the people's mouth the response, "We shew forth Thy death, O LORD, and commemorate Thy resurrection."

VIII. THE OBLATION OF THE BODY AND BLOOD.

The third oblation now follows, of which the general type may be found in the Liturgy of S. Chrysostom. The Priest having briefly commemorated the Cross, the Sepulchre, the Resurrection, the Ascension, the future Advent, proceeds in a loud voice, "In all and for all, we offer Thee Thine own of Thine own." This particular form is restricted to the Church of Constantinople, and very probably had its rise in the time of Justinian. That Emperor, when the Church of

¹ Bona, Rel. Lit. ii. 13.

^k Rattray, p. 30. note †.

"We offer to Thee, O Lord, this unbloody Sacrifice, which we offer to Thee with mind and heart, for the holy Sign, the mystery of all Churches." Bar habib; "We offer to Thee, O Lord, this tremendous and unbloody Sacrifice, for Thy holy Church scattered throughout the world, and for Thy faithful people, and for all Priests." Philoxenus of Bagdad; "Wherefore we offer to Thee this spiritual and unbloody Sacrifice, for Thy holy and Orthodox Church." James of Botna; "We offer to Thee, O Lord, this tremendous and unbloody Sacrifice, for Thy holy Church, scattered throughout the world." John of Bezwera, more minutely; "We bring nothing from the legal ministry, which contains shadows alone, no ephod, nor precious garment, nor mitre, nor golden phial, nor tiara, nor whole burnt offering of an ox, nor goat for our sins, nor red heifer, nor unblemished lamb, nor turtle-dove, nor

The other offices are much simpler, omitting the peculiar part of the Constantinopolitan. The Catechumen. "We offer to Thee our King and God according to His institution, the bread and the Cup." St James. "We offer to Thee, O Lord, the tremendous and unbloody Sacrifice." Jerome. "And." "We offer to Thee the bread and the Cup." The Lectionary, true to its Constantinopolitan origin, though it must have received the phrase after its edition, "We offer to Thee Thine own of Thine own, in behalf of all men, and for all things."

It is remarkable that the Syro-Jacobite Liturgies have no formal variation in the phrase. Most of them have it in the second prayer after the invocation of the Holy Ghost. Andrew, "Receive, Lord, this unbloody Sacrifice, which we offer to Thee with mind and heart, for the holy Sign, the mystery of all Churches." Bar habib; "We offer to Thee, O Lord, this sacrifice, for Thy holy Church scattered throughout the world, and for Thy faithful people, and for all Priests." Philoxenus of Bagdad; "Wherefore we offer to Thee this spiritual and unbloody Sacrifice, for Thy holy and Orthodox Church." James of Botna; "We offer to Thee, O Lord, this tremendous and unbloody Sacrifice, for Thy holy Church, scattered throughout the world." John of Bezwera, more minutely; "We bring nothing from the legal ministry, which contains shadows alone, no ephod, nor precious garment, nor mitre, nor golden phial, nor tiara, nor whole burnt offering of an ox, nor goat for our sins, nor red heifer, nor unblemished lamb, nor turtle-dove, nor

pigeon, but we offer Thee bread of fine meal, mingled with oil and incense for a sweet smelling savour."

There are one or two of the Syriac Liturgies which have no formal oblation. Such is that of Dioscorus of Cardou.

Why the Syriac offices insert the oblation after the invocation, we shall have occasion presently to enquire. They all of them, however, have the commemoration of the life and passion of our LORD, some of them at great length and with great beauty, as Ignatius, Dioscorus, John, and Abu'l-faraj. I will quote the first mentioned of these; "Who can explain in words all Thy dispensations, which Thou hast wrought for us, O GOD the WORD? or who can attain to the voluntary emptying of Thyself, by which, though undivided from the hidden throne of the Father, Thou didst come in Thy whole nature"—the Jacobite expression is noticeable—"to our wickedness and infirmity? Who can declare Thy temporal nativity, by which Thou didst liberate the sons of men from the servitude of Satan, and didst free us from his tyrannical and cruel power? Who can search out Thy baptism in Jordan, by which Thou didst endue us with the gift of adoption, and didst reveal and set forth the mystery of the TRINITY? Who can repay Thy undeserved passion, and Thy voluntary death, by which Thou didst overcome our passions that incline to sin, and didst destroy our death of iniquity? Who will not admire Thy quickening resurrection, by which Thou didst make sure the general resurrection of all men, and didst promise that all should arise in their bodies, although no longer obnoxious to passions? Who will not adore Thy glorious ascension into heaven, and Thy exalted session above all the spirits there, by which Thou hast opened for us a way to that divine region; and as Thou hast said, Where I am, there also shall My servant be, hast so performed it in us. For these Thy benefits to us, we offer to Thee exaltation and adoration, according to our power and faculties. To these also we join Thy second Advent, terrible to the powers above and to us on earth, and commemorate the general resurrection of all that have been created, when the eastern part of the sky shall be cloven in sunder, and Thy advent shall shine like

lightning, and the shades shall be scattered, and the deep darkness of this world expelled: when the brightness of Thy glory shall arise, and Thy cross shall shine beyond the rays of the sun: a sea of fire shall swell before Thee, and in the twinkling of an eye shall be spread over all things; when the heaven shall be rolled together as a scroll; the stars shall fall like fragments; the constellations shall be changed and darkened; the elements shall pass away to nothing; when the Angels shall sound with their trumpets, and the earth shall labour like a woman in travail, and they that are buried in it shall rise with terror, and shall prepare themselves for judgment and punishment; when the mountains shall sink, and the sepulchres be opened, and the rocks rent, and the sea and the dry land shall cry," &c. &c.

The responses which the great Liturgies put into the mouths of the people are all to the same effect. There is one, however, which is given to the Deacon in all the Jacobite Syriac Liturgies, and which seems peculiar to them. "How terrible is this hour! How tremendous this time, my beloved! In which the HOLY GHOST hastens to descend from the height of heaven, and broods and rests over this Eucharist, and sanctifies it. In silence and fear, stand and pray, stand and pray for peace with us, cry we and pray we thrice, Kyrie eleison."

IX.

We come now to THE INVOCATION OF THE HOLY GHOST. And first, of its intention and purpose:—

Three opinions have been entertained of it. 1. That the Eastern Church gives it no effect in the act of consecration, believing that to take place solely, entirely and properly, in the words of institution. 2. That it believes both the words of institution, and those of invocation, to be co-ordinately efficacious to the same end. 3. That the whole force of the consecration is vested in the invocation^m.

^m The controversy on the true meaning of this invocation may be very well learnt from the following books: Pfaff, a Lutheran Divine, in commenting on

the well-known passage in S. Cyril's Catechesis, (παρακαλῶμεν τὸν φιλόθεον τὸν Θεὸν τὸ ἕγιον Πνεῦμα ἐξαποστελῆαι ἐπὶ τὰ προκείμενα, ἵνα ποιῇ τὸν μυσ-

The history of the controversy is briefly this. With the exception of one attack of no great consequence, made by certain Latin theologians in Greece, about 1350, and refuted by Nicolas Cabasilas, no one ever dreamed of charging this most ancient rite with error till John Turrecremata brought forward such an accusation at the Council of Florence. "To pray," said he, "after the words of institution, that the elements may become the Body and Blood of Christ, is to deny any transmuting efficacy in our LORD's own words." The Greeks seem to have been rather puzzled by the objection. They were then, as always, quite averse from scholastic disquisitions, and had probably never very distinctly settled in their own minds at what precise moment the act of consecration was consummated. They protested, however, most earnestly that they regarded our LORD's words with as much reverence as the Latins themselves; and there they might have been content to leave the matter.

But Bessarion and five Prelates with him, without consulting the Patriarch, or any other person, drew up a confession of faith, exactly in accordance with the views of John Turrecremata, and the Latin Church. On this the Emperor, John Palæologus, and the other Prelates, applied to Mark of Ephesus, the great and very learned champion of Oriental Orthodoxy, for his decision on the point; and he drew up a short tract, with the design of shewing that the validity of the Eucharist depended as well on the words of invocation, as on those of institution. Turrecremata rejoined that this was hereay: and strenuously endeavoured that the contrary doctrine should be taught in the definition of faith, then about to be promulgated by the Council. But Pope Eugenius,

ἄρτον σῶμα Χριστοῦ τὸν δὲ οἶνον αἷμα Χριστοῦ· πάντως γὰρ οὕτως ἐφάψατο τὸ ἅγιον Πνεῦμα τοῦτο ἡγίασται καὶ μεταβέβηται,) asserted that according to that Father, the whole virtue of the consecration lay in the invocation. Toutée (Diss. 3. cap. 12) confuted this notion, and established clearly that S. Cyril considered both the words of institution and the invocation necessary: and that this was the

theory of the Greek Church. Orsi, a violent ultramontane, attacked Toutée in a laborious dissertation; Le Brun, in his third volume, confuted Orsi; Bougeant, a Jesuit, and a man of some learning, endeavoured to reply to Le Brun: and the latter, in his fourth volume, satisfactorily replied to Bougeant. Of Renaudot I have spoken sufficiently in the text.

will never understand it, and it never will manifestly display the intention was made without any reference to this point, and it has never since been noticed in any public dispute between the Churches. But from that time to this, there have not been wanting some timid Luther writers, who have suggested what they have been pleased to call the Greek heresy on this point.

Others, of much greater learning, and with much better design, have endeavored to show that the Oriental Church has the same sentiments on the subject which Western expresses at Florence. They have marked the difficulty manifest in the fact, and have endeavored not to evade, but to conquer it. They show that *prima facie*, to pray that the elements may become the Body and Blood of Christ appears to deny their having hitherto become that Body and that Blood. But they affirm that it is the use of the Oriental Church, to say nothing of the Western, to pray, in more than one Sacrament, after the form is complete, that the grace conveyed by that form may be imparted: as, for example, after a child is baptized, that it may be regenerate: after the marriage ceremony is complete, that the grace conferred by that Sacrament may be conferred to the bride and bridegroom. Next, they point to the canon of the Ethiopic Church, where, immediately after the words of institution, the people say, (as we have observed above,) "This is truly and we thus believe, Thy Body;" although the usual prayer that the HOLY GHOST would change the elements into the Body and Blood of CHRIST also follows. Lastly, they assert that the prayer in question may well mean nothing more than this, "make them *to us* the Body and Blood of CHRIST," i. e. "grant that we may receive all the benefits that worthy participators of that great Mystery may hope to partake."

But ingenious as these arguments may be, they cannot stand. It must be a mockery to pray for that which is already granted; no reasoning can reconcile us to so palpable an explaining away of plain words. Add to which, that the Liturgy of S. Chrysostom, and, borrowing from that, the Nestorian Liturgies, have a still stronger expression. "And make this bread the precious Body of Thy CHRIST, and

that which is in this cup the precious Blood of Thy CHRIST, *changing them*^a by Thy HOLY GHOST." No expression can be stronger; no softening of words nor explanation except the clear plain sense can be tolerated.

In reply to the argument drawn from the prayers after baptism and marriage, we may say something. The prayers at the conclusion of the former office are simply, as in our own Church, that the baptized person may remain in the state whereto he is called; that he may crucify the old man, and utterly abolish the whole body of sin: and therefore not for a moment to be compared with the case before us.

In the office of marriage, we confess that the blessing, which must be considered in the light of the imparting the grace conveyed by that mystery, is repeated in the Eastern Church after the coronation, in the Western after the mutual promise. But (besides that the whole subject is much more obscure in this case) many ritualists, before the Council of Trent, placed the form of the Sacrament of marriage in the Priestly blessing, and some even in the consummation, in which cases the whole argument falls to the ground. I only wonder that so fair an author as Renaudot should have condescended to support his opinion by analogies which will not, when examined, hold.

The argument from the Ethiopic canon is the best. But we are here to remember, that by the Ethiopic Church a relative and anticipative worship, as I have elsewhere observed, is paid to the elements at the ceremony of the illation, (or as the Greek Church calls it, the Great Entrance,) when they are simply and confessedly only bread and wine: so the Greek Church, as we have seen, also does: much more therefore may they be now considered the very Body and Blood of CHRIST, though the validity of the Eucharist is not absolutely complete at the time the words are pronounced.

For the third opinion I have mentioned, namely, that all the validity of the Eucharist consists in the invocation, we have no further arguments than the omission of the words of

^a I pass by, without deeming it necessary to confute, the explanation some Latinizing authors have given, that μεταβαλὼν τῷ Πνεύματι σου τὰ ἅγια means "having previously changed them by Thy HOLY GHOST."

institution in the Liturgies in which we have already alluded, and which we therefore need not again explain.

I believe therefore, that the sense of the Oriental Church may be thus expressed: the bread and wine offered on the Altar are transmitted into the Body and Blood of CHRIST, by the words of institution, and by the invocation by the Church of the HOLY GHOST: and if either of these things be wanting, the Eucharist, so far forth as the Orthodox Eastern Church is concerned, is not valid. I make this limitation, because the Oriental Church has not condemned her Roman sister for the omission of the invocation.

This is certainly the modern teaching of the Eastern Church. The *Encyclic of Dionysius**, 1672; "For when the Celebrant, after the Lord's words, saith, 'Make this Bread the precious Body of Thy CHRIST,' then, by the operation of the HOLY GHOST, in a manner beyond nature and ineffable, the bread is really and truly and properly changed into the very Body of our SAVIOUR CHRIST, and the wine into His Blood." The *Orthodox Instruction of Plato* does not enter into minutiae; but the authoritative "Longer Catechism" of the Russian Church thus speaks.

"Q. What is the most essential act in this part of the Liturgy?

A. The utterance of the words which JESUS CHRIST spake in instituting the Sacrament: *Take, eat, this is My Body: drink ye all of this: this is My Blood of the New Testament.* And after this, the invocation of the HOLY GHOST, and the blessing the gifts, that is, the bread and wine which have been offered.

Q. Why is this so essential?

A. Because, at the moment of this act, the bread and wine are changed, or transubstantiated† into the Body of CHRIST, and into the very Blood of CHRIST."

The words are yet stronger in the oath taken by the Russian Bishops at their consecration, "Furthermore I do believe

* Quoted in my *Hist. Alex.* ii. 465.

† Blackmore's *Doctrine of the Russian church*, p. 92.

‡ I shall have occasion to observe hereafter the sense in which the term

μετεσώμασις (Slavonic **Прет-
вѣствлєніе**) is admitted by the Eastern Church.

and confess that the transubstantiation of the Body and Blood of CHRIST in the Eucharist is made," that is, is completed, "as the Eastern and Russian Doctors teach, by the influence and operation of the HOLY GHOST at the invocation, when the Bishop or Priest prays to GOD the FATHER in these words, 'and make this bread the precious Body of Thy CHRIST.'"

Witness also the concurrent testimonies, which it is needless here to quote, of such writers as George Coressi, Basil of Achrida, Gregorius the Protosyncellus, George of Corcyra, Nicolas Cabasilas, Theophanes Cerameus, and other modern and medieval writers of a similar stamp.

This is also the doctrine of the Nestorians. The Patriarch Joseph clearly asserts that, though found in the Liturgy of S. Theodore, and that of Nestorius, the words of our LORD are there said: "by way of precatation and commemoration, not of confection" of the Sacrament. And Ebedjesus of Soba says the same thing: I quote his very words, because Asseman ingeniously perverts them to the very opposite sense.

"He gave it into their hands in the matter of bread and wine, because they closely resemble flesh and blood. But the form He gave in His quickening word, AND in the illapse of the HOLY GHOST."

Among the Syro-Jacobites Bar Salib[†] in one place asserts that the transmutation is made by the words of CHRIST, in another by the invocation of the HOLY GHOST, whence his belief on the subject seems the same. The same thing may be said of the Copts.

The Roman censors have accordingly altered this invocation in some of their revised editions: e. g. in the Armenian; "Send down upon us, and upon these proposed gifts, Thy co-eternal and consubstantial SPIRIT": *by Whose operation* ✠ *Thou hast truly made the consecrated bread the Body of our Lord Jesus Christ.*"

To accuse therefore the Eastern Church of heresy in this respect is absurd. It is certain that it is not an article of

[†] Assem. B. O. iii. 2. 303.

[•] Ibid., 305.

[†] B. O. ii. 197.

[•] p. 81. ed. Avedichian.

faith, even in the Latin Church, to believe that the consecration is performed by the words of our Lord^{*}, rather than by the whole ceremony of the Roman mass. Much more than it can only be an error, to use the very harshest allowable term, to believe that the invocation of the Holy Ghost is necessary to the consecration, nay, to assert that the consecration is absolutely and solely effected by that invocation.

It is clear that if either Church has a right to accuse the other of heresy, the Oriental stands on the vantage ground with respect to the Latin. The latter has evidently dropped a very ancient rite, without which the Eucharist was not regarded as valid, and which existed in the Mozarabic Office, under the title of the prayer *Post Pridie*, or the *Collectio post Mysterium*, or *post Secreta*, as it is called in the Gallican office, and which varied with every festival. Thus, on the festival of SS. Simon and Jude; "Behold, on Thine Altar we set forth, in honour of the holy Apostles Simon and Jude, the sacrifices of bread and wine instituted by Thine Only-Begotten Son: and we pray that they may be besprinkled with the dew of the HOLY GHOST. Let the HOLY GHOST vouchsafe, we beseech Thee, to come down upon them," &c.

Cardinal Bona, who calls the belief of the Greeks a *detestandus error*, though he denies it to be more than an opinion held by some members of the Eastern Church, is rather baffled by the Mozarabic office. He tries to prove that it is only to be taken relatively to the receiver, and quotes the Mass for the First Sunday after Pentecost; "Be pleased to bless and sanctify *to us* the gifts," &c. By parity of reasoning it might be argued that the Roman Church only believed in a relative change: because the prayer in the canon runs, respecting the yet unconsecrated bread and wine, "that *to us* they may become the Body and Blood of JESUS CHRIST."

The *Post Pridie*, in the Gotho-Hispanic rite, seems always to have contained this invocation. But in the mutilation and changes to which that office has been subjected, comparatively few masses have retained it in direct terms. I sub-

^{*} See Renaud. Lit. Or. i. 246.

join in a note a list of those which have done so; and a specimen of some of them^v. The *Post Pridie* for Easter day,

y 1st Sunday after Epiphany; 2nd Sunday after Epiphany; 6th Sunday after Epiphany; 1st Sunday in Lent; 1st Sunday after Easter; Sunday after Ascension; Vigil of Pentecost; Pentecost; the Feast of SS. Fructuosus, Augurinus, Eulogius (clearly from its subject an old Spanish Mass), of S. Torquatus (another Spanish saint), S. Martiana (a Mauritanian Martyr); the Vigil of S. Cyprian, (a Spanish peculiarity,) though here the prayer simply now begins Illabere, Deus; SS. Simon and Jude; and the Mass for one dead person. There is an allusion in the *Post Pridie* of the 7th Sunday after Pentecost to the HOLY GHOST, which comes in so unnaturally as it now stands, that we may well believe the proper invocation to have been omitted.

The following may serve as specimens of this prayer:

THE FIRST SUNDAY AFTER
EPIPHANY.

Mindful of Thy precepts, O LORD, we offer to Thee our sacrifices, and humbly beseech Thee that Thou wouldst pour forth the fulness of Thy HOLY GHOST on these hosts, that while we receive that which is blessed by Thee, we being refreshed with all manner of benediction, and freed from the chain of our sins, may rejoice evermore.

THE SECOND SUNDAY AFTER
EPIPHANY.

Acknowledging, O LORD, by votive confession that the death of Thine Only-Begotten Son is our life, we confess assuredly His resurrection and ascension into heaven; and we look for His second advent, when He shall judge every man according to his works, fearful because of our sins, but trusting in Thy mercies. Wherefore we Thy servants beseech Thee, that

Thou wouldst sanctify this oblation by the permixture of Thy HOLY GHOST, and wouldest conform it, with full transformation, to the Body and Blood of our LORD JESUS CHRIST, that we may merit to be cleansed from the pollution of our sins by this sacrifice, whereby we know that we were redeemed: and that wounded though we be, we may not be rejected from Thy healing. Thou art the Physician, we are sick. Thou art pitiful, we miserable. Wherefore since we hide not our wounds from Thee, heal us by the sacrifices whereby Thou art propitiated.

THE SIXTH SUNDAY AFTER
EPIPHANY.

We believe, O LORD, all the wonders of our LORD Thy Son JESUS CHRIST, and confessing the power of His incarnation and of His divinity, we exult in Thy praises, and offer to Thee the sacrifice of praise. We beseech Thy mercy, O God the TRINITY and infinite Majesty, that this oblation which we offer on Thy holy Altar for the expiation of our sins, may be pleasing in Thy eyes, may be ever accepted by Thee, and may be made blessed by the over-shadowing of Thy holy and seven-fold SPIRIT; whereby God may be verily and every where manifested in it. That by Thy benediction of this host, they who shall partake thereof may of Thy goodness both receive in this life the medicine of their sins, and in the world to come attain the crown of eternal life.

FIRST SUNDAY IN LENT.

GOD, Which didst give the SPIRIT of Thy sanctification on the heart of the woman of Samaria, so that she believed, so that she was inspired by Thee, so that she also set forth with faithful intention the power of Thy majesty; send down the SPIRIT from Thy holy

though not containing a direct invocation of the HOLY GHOST, has a most remarkable prayer for change; "Ut hic Tibi panis cum hoc calice oblatus in Filii Tui Corpus et Sanguinem, Te benedicente, ditiescat." This may be profitably compared with the Ximenian *Post Pridie* for Corpus CHRISTI: the difference is astonishing. "Ut panis hic *transmutatus* in Carnem, et calix *transformatus* in Sanguinem," &c. In some instances, the prayer for the descent of the HOLY GHOST is changed into a prayer for the descent of CHRIST: as for example, in the third (=second) Sunday after Easter; "CHRISTE . . . his sacrificiis propitius illabere, hisque benedicturus descende." The corruption sometimes takes a curious turn: thus, on the twenty-fifth of July the *Post Pridie* prays that, by the intercession of S. Christopher, the offerers may be filled with the HOLY GHOST. We may gather on the whole that Ximenes, who (like Bona) must have considered the prayer for any change after the words of institution a detestable error, softened the expression in many cases, and omitted it in many others; though enough is still left to shew us what the original design of the prayer was.

We are now in a state to explain why the Syrian Churches postponed the oblation till after the invocation of the HOLY GHOST: while in the Constantinopolitan, Alexandrian, and Jerusalem offices it precedes that prayer.

heaven, that the oblations may be sanctified, the prayers received, the offences forgiven, and that pardon of sin may be granted to all that partake thereof, in the everlasting joys of the eternal promise.

FIFTH SUNDAY IN LENT.

Having recited, O LORD, the precepts of the Sacraments of Thine Only-Begotten SON, and making mention of His excellent Passion and Resurrection and Ascension into heaven; we humbly beseech Thy Majesty that the plentitude of Thy benedictions may descend on these sacrifices, and that Thou wouldst pour on them from heaven the shower of Thy HOLY GHOST. That this sacrifice may be after the

order of Melchisedec, that this sacrifice may be after the order of Thy Patriarchs and Prophets, that as Thy Majesty did vouchsafe to accept that which they did in types, signifying the advent of Thy Only-Begotten SON; so Thou wouldst be pleased to look on, and sanctify this Sacrifice, which is the true Body and Blood of Thy Son our Lord JESUS CHRIST, Who for us all was made Priest and Sacrifice.

Thou therefore, most merciful FATHER, sanctify by the aspect of Thy glory this sacrifice, that they who receive it may obtain from Thee the forgiveness of sins here, and eternal life in heaven.

We have already seen that the Church has always recognised a double oblation made by the Priest, besides that offered by the people, in order that the bread and wine may be, in the first place, offered to God while it is simple bread and wine, and nothing more: and, in the second, when it has become the Body and Blood of our SAVIOUR.

And it has always been the use of the Church that the second oblation should not be delayed after the consecration is complete. Now then we have had occasion to observe that the belief of the Syriac Churches seems to have attributed more to the invocation, and less to the words of institution than the Greek Church, properly speaking; the former therefore, believing the Eucharist to be in no sense valid till the prayer of invocation was pronounced, postponed the oblation till after that had been said: the latter, judging the consecration to be in a certain sense complete before, prefixed it to the same prayer.

The next thing to be considered is the form of this invocation. In the Constantinopolitan rites it is very brief: the Priest simply prays for the descent of the HOLY GHOST, and then he and the Deacon commemorate secretly His first great descent on the day of Pentecost. In the Alexandrine family, the invocation is somewhat longer, and more elaborate, so far as the Liturgies of S. Mark and S. Cyril are concerned; while those of S. Basil and S. Gregory are comprised in a few words; "That Thy HOLY SPIRIT may come upon us, and upon these oblations, and may sanctify them, and may make them holies of holies." The Ethiopic canon more briefly still; "Send Thy HOLY SPIRIT and virtue upon this bread, and this chalice."

All the rites of the Syriac family are merely amplifications or abbreviations of the form in the Liturgy of S. James. Kyrie eleison having been said by the people, the Priest proceeds; "Have mercy upon us, O God, and send down upon us and upon these oblations Thy most HOLY SPIRIT, (*bowing*) the LORD, the giver of life, Who with Thee, O God the FATHER, and Thine Only-Begotten SON sitteth, reigneth, is consubstantial and co-eternal: Who spake in the Law and Prophets, and in the New Testament: Who descended in the

form of a dove upon our LORD JESUS CHRIST, in the river Jordan, and abode upon Him: Who came down upon Thine Apostles in the likeness of fiery tongues in the upper room of the holy and glorious Sion at the day of Pentecost. Send down now also, O LORD, that HOLY SPIRIT upon us, and upon these oblations." There is nothing in the verbal differences of the cognate forms on which we need dwell: but we may give the exposition of Dionysius Bar Salib, himself the author of a liturgy, and a writer of no small weight among the Syrians, on the whole subject. "Here we must enquire," says he, "why in this place the HOLY GHOST descends upon the bread and wine: for since the SON hath descended, and is united to them hypostatically,"—the usual method in which the Syrian Church solves the mystery, as we shall hereafter shew,—"why should the HOLY GHOST descend? We say, that He descends from the same cause. For as He descended into the womb of Mary, according to that saying of the angel, The HOLY GHOST shall come upon thee, and made the flesh which He took from the Virgin the Body of God the WORD, in the same manner He descends upon the bread and wine which are on the Altar, and makes them the Body and Blood of God the WORD, taken from the Virgin. Again we say, it was done to the Virgin Mary on this wise: the FATHER willed that the SON should be incarnate: the SON descended into the womb of the Virgin, and was incarnate of her: the HOLY GHOST descended on the holy Virgin, that He might form of her a body. In like manner, it is so done on the Altar. The FATHER wills that the SON should be hypostatically united to the bread and wine: wherefore the Priest prays with fear and groaning and the silent cry of the heart, of God the FATHER, as the eternal principle both of the SON and the HOLY GHOST, and the source of every good gift, that He would send down upon him, and on the faithful people standing behind him, and on the Sacraments placed on the Altar, His HOLY SPIRIT." He proceeds to blame the practice of some Priests who here, in sign of penitence, smote their foreheads with their hands: because, as he observes, the descent of the HOLY GHOST "cometh not with observation."

X. PRAYER FOR THE CHANGE OF ELEMENTS.

We now proceed to the expression of the purpose for which the descent of the HOLY GHOST is invoked; the last step, according to the mind of the Eastern Church, necessary to a valid consecration.

The simplest form of expression is the original one of the Syrian family; "May make this bread the holy Body of Thy CHRIST. *People.* Amen. And this cup the precious Blood of Thy CHRIST. *People.* Amen." But it is very much amplified in the Syrian S. James; "That He may come and make this bread the quickening Body, the salutary Body, the celestial Body, the Body that bringeth salvation to souls and bodies, the Body of our LORD and GOD and SAVIOUR JESUS CHRIST."—And, *mutatis mutandis*, the formula is the same as respects the chalice.—Some of the Syro-Jacobite Liturgies follow this amplification: as, for example, those of S. Clement, S. Dionysius, S. Ignatius; but it is a remarkable thing, considering the great prejudice of the Syrians in favour of prolixity, that the greater part adopt the simpler formula of Greek S. James. So it is with Matthew the Shepherd, James of Botna, Philoxenus of Bagdad, Michael of Antioch: the only difference is, that in the Syro-Jacobite rites, "may make this cup" is paraphrased into "may make that which is mingled in this cup." Of other forms in the same family, one or two may be mentioned. Dioscorus of Cardou; "May change this bread + into the Body of CHRIST our GOD, + into the Body which our LORD and GOD commended in the upper chamber to His holy Apostles, + into the Body which was crucified on the top of Golgotha for the life of the world: into the Body which was born of the Virgin and Mother of GOD, Mary: the Body of our LORD and GOD, in which He marvellously exhibited mighty acts: which He gave to us for the expiation of crimes, the remission of sins, and eternal life." And the invocation for the chalice is nearly the same. John of Bassora has a remarkable defect in the second clause; "And may make this cup to be for the

remission of sins, to the participation of the adoption of sons, and to an earnest of life eternal." It is very probable, however, that the words, "The Blood of our LORD JESUS CHRIST," have fallen out after "cup*." Thomas of Heraclea is singular in joining the two clauses into one; "That He may come down and make this bread and this wine the Body and Blood of CHRIST our GOD." The same thing may be said of that of Severus of Antioch.

Of the Alexandrine family, we have nothing remarkable to observe: except that S. Gregory (which differs from the cognate forms in embracing both clauses under one) is unique in addressing the prayer for the transmutation of the elements immediately to GOD the SON; "And make this bread, O our LORD and GOD and SAVIOUR JESUS CHRIST, Thy holy Body," &c. This formula is very strong against the idea that the whole virtue of consecration lies in the words of institution; for it commences, "Thou, LORD, with Thy alone voice transmute these oblations." The Ethiopic canon has also only one clause.

The Constantinopolitan family, though briefer, is also more elaborate. At the conclusion of the invocation, the Deacon points with his horarion to the eucharistic bread, and says in a low voice to the Priest, "Sir, bless the holy bread." The Priest immediately proceeds, "And make this bread the precious Body of Thy CHRIST. *Deacon.* Amen. Sir, bless the holy cup. *Priest.* And that which is in this cup, the precious Blood of Thy CHRIST. *Deacon.* Amen. Sir, bless. *Priest.* Changing them with Thy HOLY GHOST." This last clause is peculiar to the Constantinopolitan family, with one exception, which I shall mention immediately. The Armenian form retains it; though with a slight difference, as the benediction of the bread and cup is each thrice repeated: and after the Deacon has said the second *Amen*, the Priest says three times, "Bless this bread

* And so Renaudot thinks, Lit. Or. ii. 436. For though his theory induces him to say, "Si quis lectionem integram esse contendat, ut dicentur inde non ex invocationis verbis consecrationem aut illius integram vim in illa

esse positam, non admodum pugnabimus," yet his candour compels him to proceed, "Verum maxima supererit difficultas, eo quod integra sit invocatio super panem Eucharisticum," &c.

and wine, so as to make them the very Body and Blood of our LORD and SAVIOUR JESUS CHRIST, *changing them by Thy Holy Spirit.*" It need hardly be observed that this triple repetition of the invocation is a mere corruption, and that it would be just as reasonable to repeat the words of institution three times over.

Lastly, the three Liturgies of the Nestorian family have a strong family likeness, though not without great differences. They all agree in misplacing the invocation not only after the intercession for quick and dead, but even after the prayer of inclination: they are none of them broken by responds, and they all begin with the same formula; "And let Thy HOLY SPIRIT, O LORD, descend," &c. That of the Apostles is extremely vague and unsatisfactory; "And let Thy HOLY SPIRIT come, O LORD, and rest on this oblation of Thy servants which they offer, and bless and sanctify it." And this is the more extraordinary, if we remember that the words of institution are not recited in this Liturgy. Theodore the Interpreter, except that it consists of but one clause, has nothing remarkable: but that of Nestorius is unique in following the Constantinopolitan family by the insertion of the clause of transmutation; "And let the grace of Thy HOLY SPIRIT, O LORD, come and dwell and rest on this oblation which we offer before Thee: and may sanctify and make it, the bread and the cup, the Body and Blood of our LORD JESUS CHRIST, thus sanctifying them, and transmuting them by the virtue of the HOLY GHOST."

The Clementine Liturgy has nothing remarkable, except the beauty of the little clause preceding the prayer for change; "And send down Thy HOLY GHOST upon this sacrifice,—*the witness* of the sufferings of the LORD JESUS,—that He may make^a this bread the Body of Thy CHRIST, and this cup the Blood of Thy CHRIST."

Next follows a prayer that the faithful receiver may obtain all the benefits of so great a Sacrament. The simplest norm of this exists in the Clementine Liturgy; "that they who partake of it may be confirmed in piety, may obtain

^a Ἀποφύγῃ, as so often in Plato, e. g. Protag. 349 A.

remission of their sins, may be preserved from the devil and his errors, may be fulfilled with the HOLY GHOST, may become worthy of Thy CHRIST, may obtain eternal life, Thou being reconciled unto them, LORD Almighty." The formula is much the same in the Alexandrine family, except that S. Gregory is unique in having no such petition: in all these cases the sense ends fully with this clause, and does not run on into what follows.

But in the Syrian family, the case is rather different. In Greek S. James the formula runs thus; "That they may be to all that partake thereof for remission of sins, for eternal life, for the sanctification of souls and bodies, for the bringing forth of good works, for the confirmation of Thy holy Catholic and Apostolic Church, which Thou hast founded on the rock of faith, that the gates of hell should not prevail against it;" thus naturally leading the way to the great intercessory prayer which is to follow. And this is the case with most of the Syro-Jacobite Liturgies: though one or two, as S. Julius, prefer the simpler Alexandrine norm: so also that of Matthew the Shepherd.

The Nestorian Liturgies, on account of the position of the intercession, necessarily follow the same form.

The Constantinopolitan family seems to have its origin in S. Basil; "that they who partake of it may *with* Saints, &c., attain to God's everlasting kingdom." But S. Chrysostom omits the connecting link, and immediately proceeds to the intercession for the departed; and is followed by the Armenian rite.

XI. GENERAL INTERCESSION FOR QUICK AND DEAD.

Here I enter on the third grand division of the Liturgy; and the first thing which demands attention is the position of this intercession.

There are four positions which it occupies:

I. Between the invocation of the HOLY GHOST, and the Lord's Prayer. This may be called the rule of the Church; the two Liturgies of Constantinople, the Armenian, the

forty rites of the Syro-Jacobites, the Clementine, two Liturgies of the Copto-Jacobites, the Sicilian, the Mozarabic, so place it.

II. Before the commemoration of institution. This is only employed by the Liturgy of S. Mark, the cognate form of S. Cyril, and the Ethiopic canon^b.

III. Partly before, partly after the commemoration of institution. This is the case with the Roman Liturgy, and with the Ambrosian^c.

IV. Between the commemoration of institution and the invocation of the HOLY GHOST. This is the case with the three Nestorian Liturgies, and with none other.

It is singular to see the correspondence between Rome and Alexandria, as in so many other instances, so also here. It is true that Rome now intercedes for the living before the consecration, for the departed afterwards. But there seems reason to believe that this is a later arrangement. For in the Gelasian canon, after the commemoration of the living, we have the following; "Memento etiam, Domine, et animarum famularum famularumque tuarum fidelum, Catholicorum in CHRISTO quiescentum, Ill. et Ill. qui per eleemosynam et confessionem tibi reddunt vota sua æterno Deo vero et vivo^d," which is again repeated in different words, before the *Nobis quoque peccatoribus*, in the usual place. This repetition looks very much like an insertion.

It is clear that the position of the intercession can make no difference in its validity, but it seems also clear that the Eastern position, when the great Sacrifice has already been made, is the best. To discuss this point, however, would lead me too far from my more immediate subject^e.

The various intercessions of course differ endlessly, nor

^b Of course under this head the English Liturgy would be ranked.

^c We might put the Ethiopic here, for there is certainly a commemoration of the departed after the words of institution. But they have already been previously commemorated; and the whole force of the intercession precedes the institution.

^d This insertion seems to perplex the commentators. "Prorsus insolita," says Daniel, "est hæc defunctorum ante consecrationem commemoratio." But I really believe that it may be explained as in the text.

^e It is done at some length by Dr. Brett in his Dissertation, p. 319.

would anything be gained by comparing them very minutely. I will give the heads of seven which will be patterns of the whole.

ANAPHORA.

YESTERDAY.

This is extremely short.

1. Patriarch, Apostles, Martyrs &c.
2. All who are in distress of mind.
3. All who are in distress of body.
4. All who desire our prayers.
5. The congregation and the Priest.

BISHOP'S GAZON.

1. The Patriarch of Alexandria, and Metran of Ethiopia.
2. The whole Church.
3. All orders of the Orthodox Hierarchy.
- 4, 5, 6. A repetition of 1, 2, 3.
7. The King.
8. The sick.
9. Travellers &c.
10. Fruitful seasons.
11. All Christian governments.
12. All the departed.
13. Our benefactors.
14. All in affliction.
15. All who desire our prayers.

S. MARK.

1. The Catholic Church.
2. Peace.
3. The state, as regards the army, the council, the people.
4. The sick.
5. The possessed.
6. Prisoners, exiles, the accused, the condemned &c.
7. Travellers 'on the sea, lakes, rivers, land, or many other way.'

8. A fruitful season, and time of the Nile.

1. The Emperor.
10. All the departed, and Patriarchs, Prophets, &c.
11. All who offer us the Eucharistic Sacrifice.
12. The Pope of Alexandria, and the Bishop of the sea.
13. All orders of the clergy.
14. All afflicted souls.
15. The Priest and congregation.
16. A repetition, in other words, of 1 and 2.

S. CHRYSOSTOM.

1. Commemoration of Patriarchs, Prophets, Apostles, Martyrs, &c., naming S. Mary.
2. The Epiarchs of the land.
3. Commemoration of S. John Baptist, Apostles, and all departed.
4. All orders of Orthodox Ecclesiastics.
5. The Church in general.
6. Kings and the court and camp.
7. The Patriarch of Constantinople and the Bishop of the place.
8. The Epiarchs of the living.
9. The city where the office is said.
10. Voyagers, travellers, the sick &c.
11. Benefactors to the Church. Then the ectene.

S. BASIL.

1. As S. Chrysostom.

2. As 3 S. Chrysostom.
3. The diptychs of the dead and living.
4. The Church in general.
5. Those who offered the oblations.
6. Benefactors to the Church.
7. Hermits, &c.
8. Virgins and ascetics.
9. Kings and the court and camp.
10. The congregation; specifying those in marriage, youth, old age, &c.
11. Those in any kind of mental difficulty or distress; faint-hearted, in heresy, possessed by evil spirits.
12. Those in any kind of bodily difficulty or distress, voyagers, travellers, sick, prisoners, exiles, &c.
13. Friends and enemies.
14. All Christians generally, according to their several needs.
15. The city where the office is said.
16. The Patriarch or Bishop.
5. Travellers, voyagers, exiles, prisoners, those in bonds, &c.
6. The sick and the possessed.
7. Every afflicted Christian soul.
8. The labours of the Hierarchy.
9. All sorts of men: against war and schism.
10. Temperate and fruitful seasons.
11. Benefactors to the Church.
12. Those who offered the oblations.
13. The officiating Priest and assisting Deacons.
14. Commemoration of all Saints: specially S. Mary.
15. All spirits generally, from Abel till the present time.
16. For the forgiveness of sins.
17. All Bishops.
18. The officiating Priest.
19. All orders of the Hierarchy.
20. Temperate and fruitful seasons.
21. Deliverance from schism and war.

S. SIXTUS.

(Jacobite.)

S. JAMES.

1. The Holy Catholic Church.
2. All places honoured by our Lord's presence in the flesh, especially Jerusalem.
3. All Bishops.
4. All Christian lands.
1. All orders of the Hierarchy.
2. The overthrow of heretics.
3. Benefactors to the Church.
4. Those in affliction.
5. Orthodox Kings and kingdoms.
6. The venerators of S. Mary.
7. All the departed faithful.
8. Our own joyful resurrection.

I am not now going to prove, what nothing but the blindest prejudice can deny, that the Church, East, West, and South, has with one consentient and universal voice, even from Apostolic times, prayed in the holy Eucharist for the departed faithful: but a few words may not be out of place on the peculiar manner in which the Eastern Church commemorates Saints.

It is beyond question that the early Church offered the Eucharistic sacrifice as well for the highest Saints, and even for the blessed Virgin Mary, as for the common multitude of the departed faithful. To a certain degree that custom still prevails in the East.

To begin with the Constantinopolitan family. The Liturgy of S. Chrysostom says expressly. "We moreover offer to Thee this reasonable service, on behalf of them that are departed in the faith, our forefathers, fathers, Patriarchs, &c., and every just spirit made perfect in the faith; especially the most holy, spotless, excellently laudable, glorious Lady, the Mother of God and ever Virgin Mary:" then follow the diptychs of the dead; "the holy Prophet, Forerunner, and Baptist, John; the glorious and celebrated Apostles; by whose prayers look upon us, O God." Here there is a distinct offering made for the blessed Virgin; and without wishing to look at the subject at all controversially, I must say that the last clause appears a later insertion, because it undoubtedly, if grammatically taken, refers to those whose names have been just read in the diptychs, and whose intercession the Church would certainly not feel warranted in asking. In S. Basil, the prayer is that we may find mercy *with all Saints*, and thus, very naturally, the clause respecting their intercession is added; but the diptychs are postponed till after this. The Armenian form is strange; "We pray that the Mother of God, John the Baptist, &c., be commemorated in this holy Liturgy. *Choir.* Remember them, O Lord, and have mercy upon them." Here the prayer is direct and clear; nor is mention made of their intercession.

The Clementine is without doubt as clear; "Also we offer to Thee for all Thy Saints, &c., Prophets, Apostles," &c.

The Alexandrine family is more vague; "Give rest to the departed, remembering Prophets," &c., is the expression of S. Mark: "We have communion with the memory of Prophets," &c., of S. Basil. The Ethiopic betrays a more recent origin, by praying for mercy "through the prayers which the Lady of Heaven, the pure and holy Mary, makes for sin," commemorating the dead in another place.

The Greek Liturgy of S. James agrees with Constantinopolitan S. Basil. The Syriac calls on God to remember her, that by her pure and holy prayers we may be spared and pitied. The Syro-Jacobite forms are various; the greater number simply pray that the blessed Virgin and all saints may be remembered. So S. Peter I., S. Mark, S. Eustathius, S. John Chrysostom, Dioscorus, Severus. S. Ignatius; "We commemorate them, and urge them in behalf of our prayers." S. Julius; "Remember them, that they may be intercessors for us." Philoxenus; "Remember Thy friends, and give us an interest in their prayers." Philoxenus of Hierapolis; "That by their supplications we may be preserved from all harm." Matthew the Shepherd; "That we may be preserved under their wings." S. John and S. Marutas have simply, "We commemorate." S. Clement; "Let the memory be pleasing to Thee." S. Dionysius, singularly, "Give joy on our account to them."

The Sicilian S. James in its commemoration of Saints has a kind of explanation, evidently intended to approximate to the Latin Church. After "Remember, Lord, the most holy, spotless, excellently laudable Lady, S. John the Prophet, Forerunner and Baptist, the holy and celebrated Apostles," it adds a long list of other Saints, and concludes, "not that we are worthy to commemorate their blessedness, but that they, standing at Thy holy and tremendous tribunal, may, in their turn, remember our miseries."

The Nestorian Liturgies of the Apostles and Nestorius have, "Remember;" Theodore, "Let the memory be acceptable to Thee;" and, probably in developement of their heresy, the Blessed Virgin Mary is not expressly mentioned.

Lastly, the Mozarabic Mass seems, in some instances, to have a prayer for Saints, in the *Collectio post Nomina*, a collect after the diptychs, which varies with the day: of which I shall speak more at length hereafter.

Into the theory of this I shall not now enter, because it will be more fully examined in the fifth book.

tremely. Sometimes the people commence it, and the Priest concludes it, as in the Liturgies of S. Chrysostom, S. James, Coptic S. Basil, and its cognate forms; sometimes the Priest commences, and the people conclude it, as in the Syrian Jacobite offices; in the Liturgy of S. Mark the Priest first says it secretly, and then the people aloud; in the Mozarabic rite, the Priest says each petition, which is responded to with *Amen* by the people, except "Give us this day our daily bread," to which the reply is, "Because Thou art God."

The prayer which ushers in the LORD's Prayer, differs, of course, very much in differing forms; but the sum and substance of all is the same, namely, the request for grace with a pure heart and pure lips to join in our SAVIOUR's words. Many of the forms, as that in S. Chrysostom, are excessively short; that of S. Mark is longer, and that of S. James longer still. The earlier Syro-Jacobite Liturgies are also very brief: e. g. that of S. Eustathius; "Mighty Prince, and true FATHER of both worlds, LORD, Who hast made us out of nothing, and hast taught us the right way of salvation, by Thine Only-Begotten SON; do Thou now also, pitying us by Thy grace, sanctify our minds and tongues, that we may with a pure heart invoke Thee, God and FATHER Almighty, and pray and say —." But some of the later offices are very prolix, as those of Syrian S. Ignatius, S. Chrysostom, S. Marutas, S. Cyril, Dioscorus, Ignatius of Antioch.

The Mozarabic rite differs from all others, except the Gallican, in having a proper preface, according to the festivals for the LORD's Prayer; it generally, like the other varying prayers, has both the terseness and the antithetical balancing of the writings of S. Leo, and is usually extremely beautiful.

XIV. THE EMBOLISMUS.

The LORD's Prayer is followed, in almost all Liturgies, by a short petition against temptation. This practice, however, has left very faint vestiges in the Western Church, though it may be traced in the "*Libera nos, quæ sumus, DOMINE, ab omni malo*" of the Roman and Ambrosian rites,

and in the "Liberati a malo" of the Mosarabic; which addition to, and explanation of, the last petition of the Lord's Prayer was anciently known by the name of the *Embolismus*. The offices of S. Chrysostom and S. Basil have no prayer of the kind, but proceed at once to the peace. S. Mark, and the cognate forms of Coptic S. Basil and S. Gregory, introduce the promise of power to tread on serpents, and on scorpions, and on all the might of the enemy. All the Syro-Jacobite Liturgies have the same prayer, though in four cases not very clearly.

S. Xystus runs thus; "All things which render us more sinful and imperfect, turn them quickly, O Lord, into that which shall render us better, and more worthy; and we will ascribe glory to Thee," &c. Thomas of Heraclea; "By Thy virtue is power among all creatures, and they glorify Thee, King of ages, and Lord of powers. For Thou art our SAVIOUR, and quickly saved may we appear before Thee all the days of our life; since it is well pleasing in Thy sight to give salvation; and we will ascribe." Matthew the Shepherd, which is almost the same as S. Xystus. Philoxenus of Hierapolis, in his second office, barely mentions preservation from temptation among the other benefits which the Priest is directed to ask from God.

The term generally given to the *roû wewpou* is, as might be expected, freedom from the spiritual temptations of the devil; but other senses are brought out with more or less force. Thus, in the Liturgy of James of Botna, deliverance is also besought from temporal ills: in that of John Bar Maadn, which was very probably composed at a time in which the Jacobite Communion was plunged in affliction, preservation from enemies is the chief subject of the *Embolismus*.

In some of the later Liturgies, as for example, that of Syrian S. Clement, one or two other petitions of the Lord's Prayer are paraphrased, besides that against temptation; and in the offices of S. Chrysostom and Dioscorus, the *Embolismus* itself degenerates into a real paraphrase of the whole prayer. That of Abu'lfaraj, which is in some degree open to the same charge, begins very happily, "O Lord,

Thy kingdom come, that it may deliver us from the evil one, because this is Thy will." In almost all cases the prayer ends with the doxology, "For Thine is the kingdom," &c.; S. Cyril begins with it, and not ill; "For Thine, LORD, is the kingdom, the power, and the glory, and Thou canst deliver us from the evil one, his works, oppressions and temptations."

The Ethiopic canon is not less anomalous in the position of the Embolismus than in that of the LORD's Prayer. The latter, as we have seen, is quite out of place by being postponed until the people have communicated; the Embolismus precedes it, and is said by the people. It runs thus; "Our FATHER, which art in heaven, lead us not into temptation, since we are made partakers of the holy Body and precious Blood," &c. A defence of this position might be found in the warning given by Judas, that a temptation yielded to has never such tremendous consequences, as when it comes after participating in the LORD's Body and Blood.

The Deacon having now proclaimed, "Bow down your heads to the LORD," the people bow, and, in almost all the Eastern Liturgies, the Priest proceeds to .

XV. THE PRAYER OF INCLINATION.

This is a short supplication that God would endue them who are about to be communicants with all the dispositions of mind necessary to their communicating worthily. The general character very closely resembles the "We do not presume to come," &c., of the English Church; which, in the first Prayer Book of Edward VI., retained very much the place of the prayer of inclination.

In the Liturgies of S. Chrysostom it assumes the form of an intercessory prayer; in that of S. Mark it is rather eucharistic. A play upon words is not unusual, as in Coptic S. Gregory; "He who *bowed* the heavens is besought to look upon them that are bowing their heads to Him." In the office of Philoxenus of Hierapolis, God is called upon to *bow* down His ear.

The Nestorian Liturgies are entirely without this prayer;

the Syro-Jacobite all have it, with the single exception of that of S. Xystus, though in five, namely, Syrian S. Cyril, Moses Bar Cepha, Michael of Antioch, Dionysius Bar Salib, and John the Patriarch, no express mention is made of the prostration of the worshippers. The same thing may perhaps be said of Severus of Antioch, which is excessively prolix, a fault shared with it by the office of S. Ignatius.

It is curious to trace the remains of this prayer in the Western Church. In the Mozarabic office, immediately after the prayer which answers to the *Embolismus*, the Deacon exclaims, *Humiliate vos benedictioni*, and the Priest gives a blessing, varying with the festival, generally in three separate clauses. In the Roman office, as late as the time of Leo X., in a pontifical mass the Deacon made the same proclamation, and the Bishop gave a trine benediction, also varying with the season^m.

XVI. THE SANCTA SANCTIS, AND ELEVATION OF THE HOST.

This is one of the most universal, and apparently the most ancient, rites of the Eastern Church. The most perfect phrase is perhaps that of the Ethiopic canon; "*Priest*. Holy things for holy persons. *People*. One holy FATHER, one holy SON, one HOLY GHOST." That of S. Mark is nearly as simple, merely adding the words, "in the unity of the HOLY GHOST, Amen." The Clementine and Greek S. James, are all but verbally the same; "One holy, one LORD, one JESUS CHRIST, in the glory of God the FATHER: to Whom be glory for ever and ever, Amen." The Clementine adds, "Glory be to God on high," &c. Syriac S. James, followed by all the Syro-Jacobite Liturgies, has, less simply, "Holy things are given for holy persons in perfection, purity, and holiness. *People*. One holy FATHER, one holy SON, one HOLY GHOST; blessed be the name of the LORD, for He is One in heaven and earth; glory be to Him for evermore." The Nestorian,

^m See Menard, not. ad Sacrament. S. Gregor., p. 30.

evidently on the same model ; " Holy things for holy persons as is fit in perfection. Glory be to the FATHER, and to the SON, and to the HOLY GHOST, for evermore." Coptic S. Basil is anomalous in making the confession, " One holy FATHER," &c., precede the *Sancta Sanctis*, and the Liturgies of S. Cyril and S. Gregory, both, in this place, employ it as their norm. The Constantinopolitan Liturgies have " Holy things for holy persons," adding as the response, " One holy, one LORD JESUS CHRIST, to the glory of God the FATHER." The Armenian, however, has almost the same form with the Greek S. James, and then proceeds to an amplification of the same belief by the Deacon and people, for which I must refer to the next chapter. In the Mozarabic office, where this rite precedes the prayer of inclination, it is in connexion with the mixture of the eucharistic bread with the chalice.

The evident theory of the exclamation is this ; that holiness of confession is the necessary root of holiness of life.

Here also, in all the Eastern Liturgies, is the elevation of the host, which in the Roman Missal follows the words of institution, and in the Mozarabic comes between the prayer *Post Pridie* and the Nicene Creed.

The difference between the time of elevation in the Eastern and Western Churches, has given occasion to some writers, as Geddes, to affirm, that the Host is not elevated at allⁿ. The testimonies of Gabriel of Philadelphia, Cabasilas, and Simeon of Thessalonica, are all very clear on the point, for their respective times and countries. The elevation is less marked than it is in the West ; Zagazabo, the Ethiopian envoy to Portugal, is reported to have said, " With us the Eucharist is not elevated in the same manner as it is here." It rather resembles the way in which, according to the Carthusian rite, the chalice is elevated. In High Mass at the Grande Chartreuse, at which I have been present, the elevation of the chalice was scarcely perceptible. We further learn, as I have elsewhere said, that in Ethiopia^o, and in Syria^p, the bells were rung at the moment of elevation.

ⁿ Church. Hist. Ethiop., p. 33.

^o Hist. Alexand. ii. 150.

^p Auct. Anonym. de discipl. Eccles. ap. Renaud. Lit. Or. i. p. 269.

XVII. THE FRACTION.

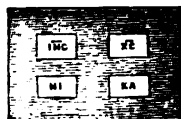
This, as I have already observed, in some Liturgies precedes the Lord's Prayer. I now proceed to describe some of the most important rites of the Eastern Church with regard to this matter.

In the Constantinopolitan Liturgies, taking the holy lamb (1), the Priest breaks it into four pieces, which he thus arranges in the paten (2).

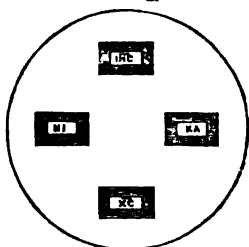
Of these, he uses IHC for putting into the chalice; a rite of which more presently. XC is given to the Priests and Deacons; and the other two portions are divided among the lay communicants, as hereafter.

The Coptic rite of S. Basil is extremely obscure; and Renaudot, though giving the commentary of Anba Gabriel, professes his inability to explain it. I believe it may be explained thus. The corban, or host, is broken by the Priest at the words, "He brake," thus (1), but so that it is not actually separated. After the prayer before fraction, he takes the corban, saying, "The holy body," and lays it on his left hand; he signs each piece separately with the wine; and when he says the prayer of the fraction, breaks it thus (2), into nine portions, which finally seem to be arranged thus:

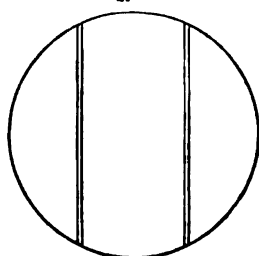
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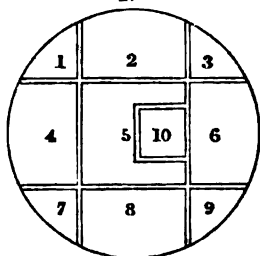
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1.



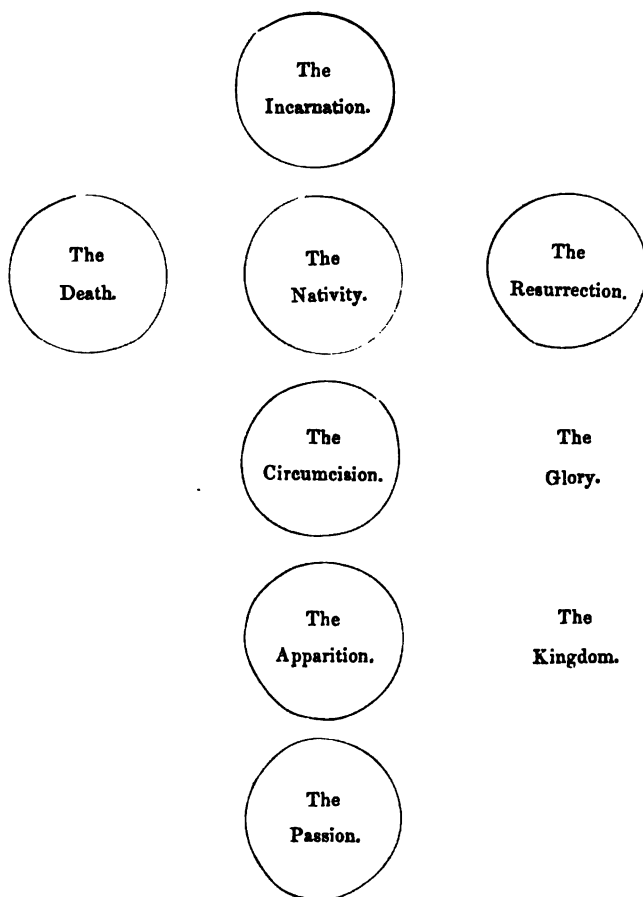
2.



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9

5 is called the *spoudicon*, or *isbodicon*, by corruption from *despoticon*, the LORD's Body; from which a small portion, 10, called the *pearl*, is taken, which is put into the chalice.

The Mozarabic rite is curious. While the Nicene Creed is being chanted, the Priest breaks the Host into two parts. One of these he subdivides into five portions, the other into four, arranging them thus, crosswise¹; the *glory* and the *kingdom*, being in no way connected with suffering, being properly made extraneous to the cross.



¹ This rubric explains the very difficult fourth canon of the second Coun-

The particle called the *kingdom* is put into the chalice; that called the *glory* eaten by the Priest; the others seem—though the rubric is somewhat obscure—to be distributed to the lay communicants, beginning from the *passion* upwards.

This may serve as a specimen of the various Oriental ways of dividing the Host. It cannot be denied that in many instances, as in the Coptic rite, the repeated changes and collocations of the sacred particles are something worse than useless; so that Gabriel-ebn-Tarik expressly says, that a Priest cannot do it well, till he has had the experience of many years. The two points, however, which deserve notice are these, 1. That in all the Eastern Liturgies the Host is elevated; 2. That in all the commixture of the Body and Blood takes place. On this latter rite it will be necessary to say something more.

This commixture, if not absolutely primitive, is at least of very venerable antiquity. In the West we find it recognised by the most ancient Missals; by the Council of Orange, A.D. 441; and by the fourth of Toledo. In the East, the Liturgy of S. James, as we now have it, contains the rite; but it possibly may be adopted from the Liturgy of S. Chrysostom. The rites are very various: Syriac S. James; "He breaks from the oblation a small fragment, which he dips in the chalice, and with which he signs the larger portion, saying, The Blood of our LORD is sprinkled on His Body, in the Name of the FATHER, and of the SON, and of the HOLY GHOST. He puts the same particle into the chalice, saying, Thou hast mingled, O LORD, Thy divinity with our humanity, and our humanity with Thy divinity, Thy life with our mortality, and our mortality with Thy life; Thou

cil of Tours (A. D. 566 or 7), "Ut Corpus Domini in Altari non in imaginario ordine, sed sub crucis titulo componatur." Some have explained this to mean, "That the reserved Host shall not be placed on the Altar, any where the Priest may choose," (more literally, "in a fancy place,") "but only under the Altar cross." Baronius

and others take it to mean, "That the reserved Host be not kept among the images that stand on the Altar, but only under the cross." It clearly signifies, "That the sacred particles are not to be arranged any how, but, according to the rubric, in the shape of a cross."

hast received that which is ours, and given us that which is Thine, to the life and salvation of our souls: glory be to Thee for ever." This, though it might be patient of a Catholic sense, is undoubtedly intended to have an Eutychian meaning. It supplies all the Syro-Jacobite formulæ. In the Nestorian rite, the Priest breaks the oblation into two parts; puts one on the paten, and signs the chalice with the other, saying, "The precious Blood is signed with the holy Body of our LORD JESUS CHRIST, in the Name of the FATHER, and of the SON, and of the HOLY GHOST, for ever." He then dips this portion half-way into the chalice, and signs the portion that lies on the paten with it, saying, "The holy Body is signed with the precious Blood of our LORD JESUS CHRIST. In the Name," &c. He then joins both together, and after a short prayer, signs that part which has been dipped in the chalice with his thumb, so as to leave the imprint of a cross thereon: and then he breaks a fragment, and puts it into the chalice. This very elaborate rite bears evident tokens of a late introduction into the Nestorian office. In Copto-Jacobite S. Basil, the *despoticon* is put into the chalice with the words, "Blessed be the LORD JESUS CHRIST the SON of God, and the HOLY GHOST. Amen." The rubrics of the Æthiopic canon are not given; but they may easily be supplied in imagination. The Priest, having first said of the bread, "The holy, precious, quickening and very Body of our LORD and SAVIOUR," &c.; and of the chalice, "The holy, precious, quickening, and very Blood," &c., dips the *despoticon* in the chalice, and proceeds, "This is the Body and Blood of Emmanuel, in very deed. Amen. I believe, I believe, I believe, henceforth, world without end. Amen. This is the Body and Blood of our LORD and SAVIOUR JESUS CHRIST, which He took from the Lady of us all the holy and pure Virgin Mary, and made it one with His Divinity, without commixtion, confusion, division, or alteration of Divinity: and he witnessed a good confession in the days of Pontius Pilate: and He gave Himself for us because it was His will, upon the wood of the holy Cross. Amen. I believe, I believe, I believe, that His Divinity was never separated from His Humanity, not even for one hour, or for the twinkling of an eye. He gave

Himself for us, for salvation, remission of sins, and eternal life, to them that receive them in faith. Amen. I believe, I believe, I believe, henceforth, world without end. Amen."

It appears, then, that this rite was at first devised for the purpose of more easily giving the holy things to communicants in the spoon, without danger of irreverence: but that a mystical reason was soon devised; namely, that by the separate consecration of the bread and wine the Lord's death was more particularly set forth; by the union of the two, the estate of His glorified and incorruptible body.

In the Constantinopolitan Church just after the commixture the Deacon pours warm water into the chalice. This is a most strange ceremony; and one which, on several occasions, has been attacked. At the Council of Florence the reasons for this rite were demanded, and Dorotheus of Mitylene satisfied the Pope of its orthodoxy and propriety. His reasons, however, have perished. S. Germanus explains it of the warmth of the blood and water which was shed from our Lord's side. S. Symeon of Thessalonica, as a symbol that even when our Lord was dead, His body was not without divine virtue. Cabasilas interprets it of the warmth and vitality of the HOLY GHOST, sent after the passion and resurrection of our Lord. Whichever signification be adopted as the principal one, the rite may be justified, but can scarcely be admired.

XVIII. THE CONFESSION.

We now come to that which is generally known as the Confession, i. e. the profession of faith that the bread and wine are now really and truly the Body and Blood of CHRIST. This, though discernible to a greater or less degree in all Oriental Liturgies, is most prominent in the Copto-Jacobite formulæ. According to the form of S. Basil, the Priest, holding the despoticon in his hands, says, "The holy Body, and pure, true, precious Blood of JESUS CHRIST, the SON of GOD. Amen. The Body and Blood of Emmanuel our God is this in truth. Amen. I believe, I believe, I believe,

and confess even to my last breath, that this is the quickening Body of Thy SON," &c.

The first clause is said in Greek, and therefore is undoubtedly of greater antiquity than the Council of Chalcedon; the rest in Coptic, and is of later date. I have in another place noticed two disputes which arose among the Copts concerning some expressions contained in it'. The Ethiopic Liturgy is expressed in very nearly the same terms.

The Syro-Jacobite Liturgies are not, in general, so express: though some, as that of Bar Salib, give a very clear confession in this place.

The Constantinopolitan family has a decided confession; and to the same effect also are the words of the Priest at fraction; "The LAMB of GOD is divided and distributed; is divided, but not parted asunder," &c. The Armenian Liturgy also has it, though less clearly than the Coptic or Syro-Jacobite; "I acknowledge and believe that Thou art CHRIST, the SON of GOD, which takest away the sins of the world."

The Nestorian confession seems supplied by the exclamation of the Deacon; "Brethren, the Church exclaims, receive the Body of the SON," &c.

I may make three observations on this confession: 1. That those parts of the Church seem to have amplified it most, which were most exposed to Mahometan apostasy: 2. That this is one of the few parts where, in Jacobite Liturgies, Jacobitism is apparent. 3. That Renaudot speaks very truly when he says that the Greek confession in the Liturgy as to the change in the elements is far more clear and definite than that in the Roman Missal^a.

XIX. THE COMMUNION.

Three methods of communion are in use in the East. 1. That practised in our own Church, the giving the eucharistic

^a Hist. Alex. ii. 244, and 252.

^b Lit. Or. i. 275. In Latina Ecclesia nihil tale, etsi realis præsentiæ fides certissime teneatur. . . . Ita per insigne Divinæ Providentiæ miraculum, illis in Ecclesiis quæ schismate

et hæresi a Catholica separatæ sunt, ne, ut hac ætate factum est, dubitari possit de illarum circa Eucharistiam fide, plura testimonia illius remanserunt quam in Ecclesia Catholica.

bread first, and then the chalice. 2. When the Priest gives the bread, as in our Church; and the Deacon administers the wine with a spoon. 3. When the bread is broken into many minute particles, and put into the wine, and both are administered together in the spoon.

The rite, however, according to which each of these three forms is used, is different. In the Alexandrine family, the Celebrant and Assistant (if there be one) and Deacon, also the Bishop if he be present, receive in the first method; the other Clergy in the second; the laity in the third[†]. In the Syro-Jacobite Churches, or at least in some of them, the Priest goes down to the laity with the paten, the Deacon with the chalice: and the Priest distributes the eucharistic bread dipped in the wine. In the Copto-Jacobite Church we find from the Constitutions of Gabriel-ebn-Tarik, that the senior Deacon goes down with a lighted taper, while the Priest and a junior Deacon are communicating the people.

The Constantinopolitan rite is as follows. The Priest and Deacon receive as they would do in our Church, except that the Deacon says the Confession before receiving the bread, and that he does not take the chalice in his own hands. The laity are communicated by the Priest in both kinds together, from the spoon, an introduction of S. Chrysostom. The Deacon only wipes the mouths of the communicants with one of the veils used for covering the Holy Gifts.

The communicants *stand* while receiving the Communion, which seems, in early times, to have been also the general practice[‡] in the West. Even now, in the Latin Church, the celebrant so receives: as also a Bishop when consecrated; and the Deacon, when the Pope celebrates solemnly: the latter, on that occasion, *sits* during reception.

The words with which the Communion is distributed next claim our attention. The earliest forms appear to be that of the Clementine, "The Body of CHRIST. Amen. The Blood of CHRIST, the cup of life. Amen." And that of S.

[†] Renaud., Lit. Or. i. 284. See also ii. 119: and Meletius Piga, in Opusc. Gr. Gennad. 111.

[‡] See Sala, iii. 396. and his autho-

rities. A corbel in the nave of Rheims represents S. Nicasius, Bishop of that See, as communicating a *standing* layman.